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8 September 1983

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No. 2817

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## ARAB INVESTMENT CORPORATION'S PROFITS

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 22 Jun 83 p 6

[Article by Sir Sayyid Ahmad: "Annual Report of the Arab Investment Corporation; Total Profits \$29.7 Million, Assets \$563 Million"]

[Text] The annual report of the Arab Investment Corporation, which will be published shortly, states that the corporation's assets, the stockholders' claims and the share in capital achieved increases in 1982, compared with the previous year, while profits and loans for projects registered slight declines for the same period.

The report's statistics, which cover the corporation's activities for 1982, indicate that total profit reached \$29.7 million compared with \$30.4 million, assets totaled \$563 million compared with \$503 million, while total stockholders' claims reached 343 million compared with 334 million the previous year. Stockholders in capital since the beginning of the corporation's work totaled \$136 million as opposed to \$124 million. Loans for projects were 151 compared with 154, and the total cost for projects in which the corporation has shares was \$20.4 billion as compared with \$17.9 billion in 1981.

### Corporation Experience

Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Dukhayl, the chairman of the corporation's Board of Directors, told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the corporation's experience was unique and distinctive, because it was established through Arab governments, but operated on a commercial basis. It has been able to achieve a profit, and only successful and effective organizations are able to do this. However, despite this, the corporation will not be distributing its profits this year to its shareholders, which are 15 Arab governments: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Sudan, Egypt, Qatar, the UAE, Bahrain, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, Oman, and North Yemen. The reason, according to Dr al-Dukhayl, is that this profit will be added to the capital, in order to strengthen it "since there is no market for the shares to participate in, and to strengthen the corporation's position. Since the governments do not need their share of the profits, it is better for the corporation to retain these funds to strengthen itself financially." However, he hastened to add that this is not a hard and fast policy, but is a matter to be decided on a year by year basis. In some years, the profits are distributed, as for example last year when \$14.2 million was distributed to the stockholders.



## Corporation Capital

The Arab Investment Corporation was established in 1974, with a capitalization of \$300 million. Unlike other Arab assistance and development organizations, which were established at that time, the corporation set as its target working only within the framework of the Arab Nation, on a solely commercial basis, in accordance with market laws. The first period of the corporation's life was concentrated on granting loans and participating in capitalization, since the corporation entered into partnership with at least two partners, one of which would offer the technical expertise, while the other would be a local partner from the country in which the investment activity was located. It also entered into existing projects, such as the Jordan refinery project, as well as other new ones.

In the past 3 years, the corporation's activities have expanded to include the following fields: contract guarantees, letters establishing credit and financing, circulation of bonds, project investment services, computer services, discounting of commercial paper, and financial investment services. All of these activities cover various fields of investment in the Arab Nation, including agriculture, industry, commerce and natural resources. Al-Dukhayl sees no conflict of interest or competition between the corporation's activities and other Arab firms, such as the Oil Investment Company or the Arab Organization for Agricultural Investment and Development. "On the contrary, I think our roles are complementary, because these organizations are specialized, and our entry with them into projects makes it easier to implement these projects. I don't recall a single incident in which we competed for a specific project."

## The Projects

The Corporation is currently participating in 23 projects, spread out over 10 Arab countries: Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Mauritania and North Yemen, ranging through the fields of investment, including the Kinanah agro-industrial sugar project in Sudan, to mining projects in Mauritania, to cement in Morocco and hotels in Syria, etc. Thus, the corporation can say that it is the only Arab company that participates in projects of this size, variety and distribution throughout the Arab nations.

Concerning future planning, Dr al-Dukhayl says that the corporation will be more particular in choosing projects that have excellent prospects and that will assist in achieving the goals of helping the development of the Arab Nation. Mr Yahya Farraj, the director of the projects' office, who has recently been appointed to the corporation, expanded on this by saying that the concentration will be on short-range projects, whose implementation will take 5 years or less. It will also try to play a more active role in establishing new projects, through entering with a larger share in certain projects. This could go up as high as 30 percent of the shares.

Farraj says that his office is currently studying 39 projects, in the hope of selecting nine of them for the corporation to enter. Actions are currently underway to open corporation branches soon that will operate as foreign banking units.

Let's take a look at the influence of declining oil profits on the corporation, which was established initially with these funds. Dr al-Dukhayl thinks that the corporation, like other similar organizations, will be affected by all these Arab and international changes, but he underscores that they are taking into account such changes as these, and that they have several scenarios to counter different eventualities. OPEC's estimates indicate that the Arab oil states will lose \$118 billion in 1982-83. Mr Ma'mun Shabib, the director of the Office of Research in the corporation, says that he does not expect the decline of oil profits to have any effect on corporation activities, because basically the corporation does not pursue its activities over an annual budget that comes from oil revenues, but rather, on the contrary, most of the corporation's activities in fact are located in non-oil Arab nations, which will benefit from the current decline of prices since it will lighten the load of their oil bills. However, corporation activities in oil countries, and in banking fields especially, will be affected by the same effects that various organizations operating in regional and international financial markets are subject to.

The advice that Dr al-Dukhayl offers, speaking from the reality of corporation expertise in investments in the Arab Nation over the past number of years, is that considerable efforts are required to improve the investment climate, especially in nations that suffer from problems of balance of payments and foreign currency. Dr al-Dukhayl goes on to say: "Despite the fact that we in the corporation endeavor to understand the viewpoints in these countries, especially their inclination to put many restrictions on economic practices, particularly with regard to currency, we try at the same time to explain to them the dangers of such policies, and that the freer the economy, the greater its potential to remove the problems. There is the example of Tunisia, which has made great progress in getting its economy moving. It has begun to see the results in the influx of Arab investments. We hope that the nations that endeavor to attract investments will prepare a climate that will encourage such investments to come."

# PROJECTS WITH CORPORATION PARTICIPATION

<u>Name of Project</u>	<u>Location and Date of Construction</u>	<u>Capital (in dollars)</u>	<u>Corporation's Share</u>
Jordan:			
Oil Refinery	Amman - 1956	97 million	6 percent
Paper and Carton Factories	Amman - 1973	4.5 million	27 percent
Glass Company	Amman - 1974	15 million	14 percent
Arab Mining Company	Amman - 1975	436.5 million	0.83 percent
Arab Investment Bank	Amman - 1977	16.5 million	10 percent
Morocco:			
Moroccan Cellulose Company	Rabat - 1952	17.6 million	27 percent
National Development Bank	Rabat - 1959	22 million	2.14 percent
Real-estate Company for Construction and Participation	al-Muhammadiyah - 1974	6 million	15 percent
Metallurgical Construction Company	al-Muhammadiyah - 1974	5.19 million	31 percent
Tammara Cement Company	Rabat - 1976	21.6 million	18 percent
Tunisia:			
Financial and Tourist Company	Tunis - 1969	11 million	4.5 percent
Aminat Cement Company	Tunis - 1976	2.8 million	33 percent
Al-Marj Dairy Project	Tunis - 1982	3.2 million	18 percent
Jandubah Agro-Industrial Project	Tunis - 1982	25.2 million	10 percent
Syria:			
Arab Company for Livestock Production	Damascus - 1975	(Kuwaiti dinars) 60 million	2 percent
Syrian Company for Tourism and Hotels	Damascus - 1976	10 million	20 percent
Egypt:			
Arab-International Hotel Company	Cairo - 1975	50.7 million	12 percent
Arab-International Insurance Company	Cairo - 1976	3 million	10 percent



PROJECTS WITH CORPORATION PARTICIPATION (Cont)

<u>Name of Project</u>	<u>Location and Date of Construction</u>	<u>Capital (in dollars)</u>	<u>Corporation's Share</u>
Saudi Arabia:			
Saudi Company for Hotel Services	Riyadh - 1976	37 million	20 percent
Sudan:			
Kinanaah Sugar Project	Kinanaah - 1975	531 million	11 percent
Iraq:			
Arab Chemical Company	Baghdad - 1981	243 million	6 percent
North Yemen:			
Ma'rab Poultry Company	Sana' - 1979	14 million	11 percent
Mauritania:			
Arab Company for Inshiri Mines	Nouakchott - 1981	72 million	7 percent

7005

CSO: 4404/509

PORTUGUESE PREMIER THREATENED BY 'ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY ARMY'

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 30 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] Following the recent attack in Lisbon, the Armenian Revolutionary Army issued a new threat against Portugal and said that Prime Minister Mario Soares will be killed if the Portuguese government persists in its current stance toward the Armenians.

An unidentified person yesterday called the offices of ANOP, the official Portuguese news agency, and said that he is speaking on behalf of the "Institute for Defense Against Western Civilization." The caller said in perfect Portuguese that Prime Minister Soares will be killed if Portugal maintains the stance it took against Armenians during the attack on the Turkish embassy in Lisbon.

Yesterday, new announcements were made in connection with the Turkish embassy in Lisbon, and security officials again took heavy security measures to protect the building. No one, including Turkish journalists, are allowed to enter building on grounds that it is a highly dangerous location and that people should stay away.

Nor can people calling from outside get into contact with Turkish representatives, who are said to be "not in a position to talk." Yesterday, certain mysterious cars circled around the embassy building and did not heed police warnings.

The Armenian Revolutionary Army yesterday sent a new letter to a Lisbon paper and claimed that there were six, not five, terrorists involved in the embassy attack. The letter said that the sixth terrorist who managed to escape is now watching the embassy building and the traffic around it. The letter also said that the goal of the embassy attack was a 48-hour occupation.

Embassy and security officials believe that the explosion that resulted in the death of Cahide Mihcioglu occurred by accident. It is believed that the terrorists tried to hurl a grenade at a Portuguese security official they saw entering the building and that that grenade set off the rest of the explosives by accident.

Portuguese authorities have been refusing to give any information about the incident. Portuguese media have provided extensive coverage to the incident and its repercussions.

The presidents of Portugal and Turkey exchanged telegrams of sympathy and thanks.

EVREN SAYS 'ARMENIANS WILL BE DISAPPOINTED AGAIN, AS IN 1915'

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 1 Aug 83 pp 1,4

[Text] President Kenan Evren declared in a public speech in Nigde yesterday that the Armenians will be disappointed again as they were in 1915 as a result of the war they waged. Recalling that the new labor law has gone into effect, Evren said that the work week has been reduced from 48 hours to 45 hours without any cuts in workers' paychecks.

Evren stated that when the people look to the future with confidence the administration too feels happy and said: "Your happiness is also our happiness."

Noting that the 12 September operation brought peace and security to the country, Evren said: "The movements which brought the country to the situation existing before 12 September have not yet been completely rooted out. Therefore any mistakes or indifference can very easily return us to the same conditions."

Stating that the terrorists who brought Turkey to this situation are collaborating with Armenian saboteurs, Evren said:

"We see with repugnance and reproach that the terrorists who brought Turkey to the situation existing before 12 September have established close collaboration with Armenian terrorist organizations which, in a way, have declared war against Turkey and which savagely and brutally murder innocent people without sparing women or children. How can anyone call Turks these traitors who have fled overseas? I question their Turkishness. I do not consider them pure-blood Turks. We did not initiate this war being waged against Turkey. Nor were we the ones who declared war against the Armenians in 1915. The Armenians will be disappointed again today just as they were disappointed in those years after they declared war against us.

"Those who think that the base acts they are committing against the Turkish nation will cause its collapse and will force it to its knees will eventually learn how big a mistake they are making.

"As I have stated before on several occasions, Turkey does not have a single square inch of land to give away to any country or group. If it were possible to own land using such disgraceful methods and terrorism, numerous countries would have chosen that path. These lands, on which we have been living for a thousand years, have preserved their Turkish character and will remain Turkish.

"I suggest that those who have been injecting fallacies into the minds of poor Armenian young men and women renounce such methods. I also suggest that Armenian youth be more realistic and that all those countries which so far have turned a blind eye to terrorism renounce their stance and actively fight against terrorism, because terrorism threatens the whole world. Otherwise, those who have been sitting with their arms folded will themselves become targets of terrorism, and they have already become so."

President Evren and his entourage returned to Ankara yesterday evening.

9588

CSO: 4605/114

## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

### EIGHTY THOUSAND ARMENIANS IN MARSEILLES CONDEMN ORLY INCIDENT

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Jul 83 p 9

[Text] Their number is estimated at 80,000 in Marseille. They are descended from immigrants who first began to arrive in 1896, but whose numbers swelled after the First World War following the 1915 genocide which culminated in 1923. Since then, the Armenians of Marseilles have spread to various parts of the city. They are most numerous, however, in the east sides of Beaumont and Saint Julien, through which the April 24 1915 Avenue runs, and which still bear the traces of their massive influx 60 years later. The Armenians of Marseilles, strongly attached to their homeland, solemnly celebrate the anniversary of April 24th each year, and the Armenian Church of Prado repeats in unequivocal terms the accusations made against the Turkish Government at the time.

Obviously, anything related to the Armenian cause will have strong repercussions here among the immigrants' descendants, even among those who no longer speak their native language. Membership in associations is divided among at least 40 different groups which are at best unaware of each other's existence; this makes it difficult to identify a spokesperson for Marseilles' Armenian community. A liaison committee created in 1980 for the inauguration of the avenue bearing the date of the genocide has since ceased to exist for lack of any other unifying issue. However, opinion is unanimous in condemning the Orly incident. "Unreserved condemnation" is the headline that can be read in various communiques published in Marseilles since Saturday. The regional bureau of the Armenian Youth of France (JAF), for example, "calls on all those of Armenian descent to disassociate themselves from such blindly destructive acts. It is the JAF's opinion that the genocide perpetrated with such impunity by the Turkish Government of 1915 and the current government's position of denying and falsifying historical facts provokes these kinds of extremist, irresponsible acts.

For this reason, the JAF reaffirms its stand in favor of a final, peaceful solution to the Armenian problem, including reparations for the cultural and economic harm done to the Armenian people."

The regional bureau of the French Cultural Union of French Armenians (UCFAF) "condemns all forms of terrorism because they obviously discredit the people of the Armenian diaspora, whose main concern is to remain united until the

1915 genocide is acknowledged and condemned. The UCPAF, like the French Government, is committed to working in a responsible fashion for national and international recognition of the Armenian cause."

Mr. Jean Oumedian, spokesman for the party which is most representative of the Armenian diaspora, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation of Daschnagtsoutioun, stated, "This is not an Armenian attack. This kind of act does a disservice to the cause it claims to serve." However, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation does not necessarily rule out all armed action. "Acts directed against representatives of the Turkish state (ambassadors, consuls, official representatives) can be legitimate," Mr. Oumedian stated, adding that "Politically, we support the kind of actions carried on since 1975 by revenge-seeking commandos who refuse all ties with the ASALA. But we condemn all acts directed against innocent civilians, whether Turkish or not."

9825

CSO: 4619/84



STRICT MEASURES ADOPTED BY TURKISH POLICE 'AGAINST ARMENIAN TERRORISM'

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 30 Jul 83 pp 1,4

[Text] The Turkish police has embarked upon organized work following the spate of Armenian terrorist acts last month. In this framework, the security organizations of the 67 provinces will cooperate with each other and will keep a tab on the activities of ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] at home and abroad. Meanwhile, the questioning is continuing of the 12 ASALA activists who are Turkish nationals and who are under detention in France. Information obtained about ASALA is evaluated in all 67 provinces. The work is carried out in an organized manner. Investigations are under way to determine where ASALA gets its financial support from and what its objectives and ideology are. These investigations reveal that ASALA uses--that is forces into terrorism--primarily the children of poorer families and teaches them about the geographic and political facts of Turkey.

The information so far collected by the security forces about ASALA is as follows:

"ASALA wants to use innocent Armenians for its objectives and wants to recruit Turkish-Armenians in particular. Their primary goal is to provoke the Turkish-Armenians into a rebellion against the Turkish government and to wage propaganda in order to persuade the Turkish-Armenians to send their children to the seminaries in France and Jerusalem. The boys who go to Jerusalem are first sent to Israel and then to France. The students at these schools are trained as terrorists under the tutorship of ASALA activists. ASALA obtains its detailed geographic and political information about Turkey from members of TIKKO [Turkish Worker Peasant Liberation Army] and Dev-Sol [Revolutionary Left] and the Apoists [Kurdistan Workers' Party] which are illegal organizations operating abroad. ASALA also sends tourists to Turkey to photograph sensitive areas for money and uses the pictures for its own purposes."

Turkish citizens related to ASALA activists stated that they would not hesitate to give the Turkish police any information they need and said:

"ASALA has not had any direct contact with any of us, but on several occasions it has tried to send us messages through some of its statements. Any Armenian living peacefully in Turkey will not be deceived by ASALA even if he has a relative who is a member of ASALA; on the contrary, he will try to overturn their plot. ASALA is pursuing an imaginary cause and is not in any way linked with the Turkish-Armenian community. May God punish the man who collaborates with ASALA. The Armenians of Turkey will continue to live in peace and will take their place by the side of the Turkish government and security authorities."

TURKMEN CLAIMS 'ARMENIAN CONGRESS IS LINKED WITH TERRORISM'

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 4 Aug 83 pp 1,4

[Text] Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen was interviewed by MILLIYET in connection with Armenian terrorism and the Armenian National Congress held in Lausanne [last month]. The minister underlined the fact that the congress in Lausanne has reaffirmed the views of Armenian terrorist organizations and has proven that it is closely linked with those organizations. No one doubts that any more, Turkmen said. In connection with the proposal that the Turkish foreign minister can establish a dialog with the foreign minister of Soviet Armenia, Turkmen said: "The organizers of the congress apparently forget that Soviet Armenia is not an independent country. They would do much better if they could study these issues in more depth."

In response to a question on whether the Soviet Union has shown any reaction on this issue, Turkmen said: "I believe that the Soviet Union should not permit such relations."

As for the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkmen said that everyone, except a few Armenians, knows that nothing can be done to change that treaty.

[Turkmen said:] Many countries have started to feel the need for cooperation against the recent escalation of Armenian terrorism, but it would be difficult to wage such a campaign by establishing an international organization because some countries have certain reservations. Even so, specialized work on this issue can be--and is being--carried out.

Recent acts by ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] and other organizations are tied to the fact that ASALA was not on the scene for a long time after the invasion of Beirut. Now it wants to come back on stage with a great amount of noise. The fact that other organizations did not remain idle while ASALA was inactive is another issue.

Armenian organizations brainwash their youth and after sending them to their death declare them heroes. These young men and women do not know much about the organizations using them. Their main goal is political propaganda and incitement. The congress in Lausanne reaffirmed the Armenians' goals. Now everyone knows that this congress must have close links with terrorist



organizations. There is no doubt that some governments are supporting them. There are also those who are providing financial support. The terrorists are being trained in Palestinian organizations. It is clear that they have ties to the Palestinians. Although the Palestinians are no longer in Lebanon, Armenian organizations continue to remain in Lebanon. The Justice Commandos [of the Armenian Genocide], who are affiliated with the Armenian Revolutionary Federation are partly based in Beirut. We know that the terrorists involved in the Lisbon incident carried Lebanese passports. After the invasion of Beirut, a large number of Armenian activists moved to Paris. We have heard that Ocalan from PKK [expansion unknown] and Balkir from the Turkish Communist Party are working in the Syrian intelligence service and that they are collaborating with Armenian organizations. We have drawn the attention of the Syrian government to this issue. We cannot claim that these terrorist organizations are all affiliated with the left. In any case, there is an effort under way to dismember Turkey, but all such efforts will remain futile as long as Turkey is strong.

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CSO: 4605/115

## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

'ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY ARMY' SAYS: 'WE WILL CONTINUE TO STRIKE'

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 1 Aug 83 p 1

[Text] Below we present a communique issued by the Armenian Revolutionary Army addressed to all governments and world public opinion in connection with the terrorist attack on the Turkish diplomat in Brussels.

A Turkish diplomat was attacked on 14 July in Brussels by the Armenian Revolutionary Army. The terrorist ran away from the location of the incident toward some nearby woods after dropping his pistol and coat at the location of the incident.

To all governments and world public opinion:

This is the Armenian Revolutionary Army.

We are the descendants of a terrorized nation which, after overcoming the challenges of survival, refuses to accept the fate imposed on it and is waging its liberation struggle.

In view of the fact that our nation has met with indifference in the long path it has covered, the Armenian Revolutionary Army, like other armed Armenian organizations, has decided to resort to armed acts in order to have a place and a say in the modern world.

Our first act was directed against the Turkish diplomat in Brussels.

He was attacked by our fighters a few hours ago. The Turkish diplomats are being attacked in order to force Turkey to accept that it planned and implemented a genocide in 1915 as a result of which 1.5 million Armenians lost their lives. The Turkish government persistently disclaims the undeniable reality of this genocide. Out of fear that the Armenian question may be internationalized, the Turkish government has not only been distorting history, but it has been pressuring other governments to take action against the Armenians thus causing quick and unwise police measures in those countries.

The objectives of the Turkish government are obvious. But we will not retreat in the face of these machinations. We will continue our armed struggle. Our weapons will be directed against Turkish diplomats whom we consider the representatives of Turkey's policy of denial, which has already caused great

damage to the Armenian people and their just cause. The goal of our acts, which are committed for justice, is to draw the attention of all nations, governments and, in particular, all progressive movements to our cause. We decided to seek justice through armed struggle since all peaceful moves were condemned to failure by the Turkish government and other international organizations.

On this occasion, the Armenian Revolutionary Army invites all Armenian revolutionary organizations to join our new movement. We believe that with firm cooperation we can attain our goals.

We assure the world that it will hear about us frequently.

We will continue to strike.

[Signed] Armenian Revolutionary Army

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CSO: 4605/111

EDITORIAL LAUDS LISBON OPERATION OF 'SUICIDAL SQUAD'

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 30 Jul 83 p 1

[Editorial: "A Voice from Lisbon"]

[Text] More than 15 centuries ago, the immortal Yeghisheh declared: "Unconscious death is death; conscious death is immortality." He thus adorned with the laurels of immortality Red Vartan and his comrades who had fallen on the path of struggle to defend their national identity and the freedom of their country.

The immortal historian also summarized in these words the whole meaning of a sublime concept: the conscious determination of a freedom-loving nation to defend and to secure its supreme national and collective interests through insuperable sacrifices and even at the expense of life and blood. The idea which was expressed in a few words was not empty rhetoric, but a creed symbolizing faith and, in particular, supreme struggle.

Thousands followed Vartan and his comrades on the path of conscious death, each time the danger-fraught history of the Armenian nation reached an apparent dead end where only an "act of madness" could overturn the obstruction imposed in order to secure the right of the Armenian nation to live on and to raise the banner of freedom and independence at the expense of the death of the chosen --at the expense of conscious death.

The Armenian freedom fighter, who chose "to embrace a weapon instead of his lover" and not to have "a place to sleep comfortably", reopened and walked on the path of conscious death. The insatiable path of conscious death took away the young souls of entire legions of freedom fighters--such as Kevork Chavush, Serop Aghpur, Papken Suni and thousands of other known and unknown Armenian fighters--until the compliant and tame Armenian peasant, repressed under the Turkish yataghan, woke up and decided to sell his "twin oxen" to buy a rifle for his Gigo and to enroll him as a freedom fighter. This struggle of supreme and glorious sacrifice destroyed the towering obstacles blocking the survival path of the Armenian nation, and the voice rising from the mountains of Erzurum found resonance--after passing through Banque Ottoman--in Sasun, Van, Karakilise and Sardarabad.

A few days ago, a voice echoed from Lisbon. A group of "mad" young men tried once again, by a suicidal operation, to shatter the obstacles piled up on the path of pursuing the rights of the Armenian nation when they found our path of survival and legitimate rights at an apparent dead end.

The voice rising from Lisbon was not new; it was only an echo of the thumping of the steps started by Vartan and his comrade and continued by the legions of Armenian freedom fighters. /It was an unprecedented attempt in modern history to return--at the expense of blood--to the roots of the Armenian liberation struggle and to remain on the right path unswervingly and faithfully./

Five young souls /consciously/ sacrificed themselves for the resurgent struggle of a wronged nation--a struggle aimed at pursuing legitimate rights. Five young souls chose the path of conscious death, without bargaining, with the belief that glorious goals can only be attained by supreme sacrifices.

Any attempt to appreciate their "act of madness" would be incomplete and even degrading, especially since the /scope/ of their act and the /message/ they have conveyed is much more profound and solemn than their /immediate outcome./

However, one can certainly say one thing: The Armenian mothers who have given birth to heroes are not merely part of history; they are present today and they will be present tomorrow.

And the voice of their selfless children, the voice of the Armenian youth, will and must resonate with amplified strength /in every Armenian heart/ as well as /in the remotest corners of the world./

That resonance will be repeated and will ring with growing strength until ears hitherto closed to the legitimate rights of the Armenian people are reopened, until special interests are overcome by supreme truth and until the Armenian nation which has given birth to these heroes recovers all its rights.

9588

CSO: 4605/110

**TURKISH PAPER WARNS 'TURKS COULD RUN OUT OF PATIENCE'**

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 29 Jul 83 pp 1,4

[Text] Our colleague, TERCUMAN, features an editorial in today's issue entitled "The Turk Can Also Run out of Patience" recalling the recent spate of terrorist acts against innocent Turkish citizens. The editorial says that the Turkish nation, too, can run out of patience and that Turkish citizens of Armenian origin must start acting and must do their utmost to stop this senseless and aggravating campaign.

TERCUMAN continues: "If these crimes that have been going on for several years were committed against anyone else the whole world would have been outraged. But things change when Turkey is the victim. A few words of sympathy are uttered for appearances' sake and everything is forgotten in anticipation of a new incident."

The paper questions the events of 1915. It says: "The Armenian minority, which lived with us in brotherly peace, was provoked and armed against us just like today. The Armenians started a rebellion, invaded Turkish villages and murdered innocent people and angered the Turkish people with their savage crimes. The Turkish people would naturally want to retaliate, but the government did not allow that, and, having in mind that the perpetrators of these crimes were innocent people who were provoked by others, it moved them to other Turkish provinces where they could start new lives."

TERCUMAN continues: "TERCUMAN supports the idea that this issue be made an agenda item with all its aspects. The Turkish nation is aware of the conspiracies being plotted against it. For instance, the Marxist Our Radio has not issued a single condemnation against these crimes. That station, which supposedly supports peace, constantly repeats 'His Master's Voice' using outmoded slogans and futile calls.

"Now we call upon the Armenians of Turkey with whom we have lived in brotherly peace and shared customs and traditions for centuries, with whom we have shared our bread and our happy and sad days, with whom we were declared equal by the Constitution and with whom we became one at the golden peak of our music: Enough is enough. You too know who are standing behind these incidents. These incidents will not end by mere condemnations. You heard about the so-called congress that was held recently to show the unity of Dashnak and Hunchak

parties. Stop these people. Make your spiritual leaders talk clearly against them in churches. You are the ones who can stop them without shedding blood. We know that no honorable and humane Armenian condones such crimes. We also know that an air of mourning hangs in the homes of such people after each crime. The Turkish nation is naturally patient. But till when will it be able to remain patient? That is the problem. There is nothing that a Turk who has run out of patience cannot do. Of course, it is impossible to condone an explosion of anger. But those who are trying to revive in 1983 the fraudulent genocide of 1915 will eventually have to face a Turk who has run out of patience.

"Western publications have realized these facts and that is why they have begun raising their voices recently.

"We want peace at home and in the world. We do not want to upset the brotherly relations we have had with the minorities of this country since 1453. We do not want our kind patience to be misinterpreted; we do not want our silence to be misunderstood."

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CSO: 4605/116



TURKMEN INTERVIEWED BY BBC ON ARMENIAN CAUSE

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 29 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen, who is in London, was interviewed by BBC television and responded to the BBC correspondent's questions on the Armenian question. The correspondent, Linda Alexander, first reminded the minister that all Turkish diplomats, including Turkmen himself, are under the threat of terrorist attacks. In response to a question on what he thinks on this situation, Turkmen said that these threats cannot stop Turkish diplomats from doing their work. He said: "It is true that existing security measures are not adequate, but we are doing our best."

Question: There are charges about a genocide that has taken place in the past. The Armenians have demands. What do you think?

Answer: Those events occurred during the time of the Ottoman Empire and not under the present Turkish republic. A long time has elapsed. The Armenians had demands at the end of World War I, and they were stronger then. However, then they expressed their demands through ordinary channels and not by using terrorism.

Question: It is futile to say: "Let them stop terrorism." A practical way must be found. Your government must be feeling responsible in the face of these continuing terrorist acts.

Answer: As you know yourselves, the best method to fight terrorism is to avoid a dialog with them and not to make concessions. This is the policy implemented by the entire world.

Question: Innocent people are also becoming victims of these acts, such as in Orly. What do you think about this issue?

Answer: You must include the following fact in your program: The Armenians have not targeted only the Turks for their acts. They strike everywhere and they kill innocent people. Is not the newsreel of the Lisbon incident enough to show the barbarianism of the Armenians? The answer to your question is that all countries must cooperate with each other on this issue. This is an arm of international terrorism. Had all countries acted with the same determination as Portugal, Armenian terrorism would not have attained the proportions it has attained today.



Question: What are you planning in Turkey? It is reported that you have set up a police network in Europe to fight against terrorism.

Answer: We do not have anything like that. We only cooperate with all police organizations in the world. We know where the Armenian terrorists are based. One such center is Beirut and another is France. In other words, we are not pleased with the stance of the French government.

Question: By saying that do you mean you are washing off your hands? That is, do you not feel you have any responsibilities?

Answer: No, we are not backing out. However, if a terrorist attack takes place in a foreign country that country has the responsibility to deal with the matter. We cannot intervene. If you ask us, we have successfully crushed terrorism in our country. We have always been able to counteract Armenian terrorist acts in our country.

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CSO: 4605/117

## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

ARMENIAN LEADER MEETS MINISTER--Tehran, 15 Aug, IRNA--Iran's Armenian leader Archbishop Ardak Manukian today in a meeting with the deputy interior minister for political and social affairs of the Islamic Republic pointed to the unseverable bond of the Iranian Armenians with the Islamic revolution. He also condemned all the acts committed against the Islamic Republic laws and in the name of Iranian Armenians. The archbishop pointing to attempts made on the life of French diplomats and their establishments to its embassy, said that the Iranian Armenians are against such acts and believe that such acts were done to serve the superpowers aims. [Text] [GF151744 Tehran IRNA in English 1614 GMT 15 Aug 83]

CSO: 4600/856

GOVERNMENT-ORIENTED PAPERS DISCUSS ADVANTAGES OF TOURIST DEVELOPMENT

Problems with Mediterranean Hotels

Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 28 May 83 p 4

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qaddus]

[Text] I discovered strange discrepancies regarding tourist activity in Egypt in the course of my conversation with the minister of tourism. The first of these discrepancies is that our country still depends on rich tourists, although tourists of moderate means are the backbone of tourist activity throughout the world. Also, there is not yet any room in our country for tourist activity for young people.

The tourist projects on the Red Sea will witness great growth in the very near future, while the tourist projects on the Mediterranean are still floundering.

[Why] are massive new hotels, which cost millions of pounds, now being built along the banks of the Nile in Cairo, if tourist activity in our country is stagnant? Why aren't these millions being directed toward more beneficial projects?

The minister of tourism, Tawfiq 'Abdu Isma'il, started his discussion with me by answering this question, stating, "I totally disagree with anyone who says that the tourist season is a stagnant one. The statistics indicate the total opposite. The number of tourists who visited Egypt in 1982 came to 1,423,251, as compared with 1,376,027 in 1981, for an increase of 3.4 percent. In January 1983, the number of tourists came to 98,812, as compared with 84,782 in the same month of 1982, or an increase of 16.5 percent. We hope that this rate will increase and reach 20 percent in 1983."

The Highest Proportion of Work

I told the minister of tourism, "In your opinion, then, the new hotels which are being built now are necessary to accommodate tourists, and are not millions lost to the government and the people."

He answered decisively, "Of course these hotels are very necessary."

I told him, "But our existing hotels complain of the fact that many of their rooms are empty."

He replied, "That is not correct. The rate of occupancy in Egyptian hotels is the highest in the world. Last year, for example, it came to 85 percent, while the international rate of occupancy is just 75 percent. The occupancy rate in first class hotels in Cairo came to 90 percent."

I told Tawfiq 'Abduh Isma'il, the minister of tourism, "You are concentrating on the construction of first class hotels, as if you assumed that the tourists who come to our country must be rich, although tourist activity is not that way, anywhere in the world; the average tourist has become the backbone of this industry."

He said, "The situation is not as you imagine. There are hotels that are erected also to accommodate average tourists, but the interest in erecting first class hotels is very important; the tourists who come to our country essentially are from countries with high incomes, Western Europe, America, Japan, and the Gulf countries. In addition, Egyptian antiquities are considered to be among the richest treasures in the world, and the people who come to visit them are prepared to pay a lot for that."

I told him, "However, the Arab tourists stay in furnished apartments. They do not stay in hotels. Doesn't that have an effect on them?"

He replied, "This just applies to tourists who spend a long time in Egypt. The overwhelming majority of them do not fall into this category. In addition, our emphasis in tourist activity and hotel occupancy is on European and American tourists in the first place."

#### Our Prices Are Lower

I presented the minister of tourism with a complaint about high hotel prices.

He said, "The costs of lodging are low, as are those of breakfast and lunch, going by the lists, as compared with all the Mediterranean countries. However, this is not to deny that the cost of tourist activity in Egypt is high, because it includes transportation as well as lodging, and there is no doubt, as well, that special food orders in our hotels are to be considered very costly."

An important point on which the minister of tourism places emphasis is that it is not permissible to compare the costs of lodging in Egypt with the countries that compete with it in the tourist area, such as the countries of North Africa and some European countries, because the latter rely basically on vacation tourist activity, that is, the allocation of long periods of time to vacations which can last from 2 to 3 weeks. Our country does not depend on vacation tourist activity; most of the people who visit it are in tourist groups who come for short periods for a basic purpose, to visit the antiquities, or as businessmen or brother Arabs for medical treatment first of all, then relaxation secondly.

I asked the minister of tourism, "What have you done to attract young people from various countries to visit our country cheaply? In other words, where is the attention to tourist activity for young people, who account for a substantial proportion of all the tourist activity in the world?"

Tawfiq 'Abduh Isma'il replied by stating, "Tourist activity for young people does not represent a priority for our country at present, for a major reason, which is that tourist activity must be a basic source of income for the government, and tourist activity for the young does not bring in the desired income."

#### Tourist Activity on the Coasts

After that, the conversation addressed itself to tourist projects on the coasts of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. He stated "Emphasis now is on the Red Sea coasts, which are distinguished by their climate, their water, and their proximity to Luxor. There are many projects which will be carried out in the near future, in al-'Ayn al-Sukhnah, the town of al-Ghardaqah, the Hashish Plain, Wadi al-Dum, and Abu al-Makhadiq. Next year, the al-'Aqabah area will enter into international tourist programs. We hope to start vacation activity and low-cost youth tourist activity in this area by erecting massive camps for it on the coast. It is possible that these will be profitable, as far as we are concerned.

"As far as the Mediterranean coasts go, competition in this area with other countries like Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, Tunisia and Morocco is very intense, and basic services for our projects on the north coast, such as water and electricity, are not available. Their costs are high and in order for us to be able to compete we must provide tourists with full lodging for a whole day for sums ranging from \$40 to \$45 a day. We find it difficult to do that now, in view of the high cost of erecting infrastructure projects."

My final question was on the difference between the areas of competence of the Ministry of Tourism and the Authority to Stimulate Tourist Activity.

He stated, "The Authority to Stimulate Tourist Activity is new; it was established in 1981. All conflicts in areas of competence between it and the Ministry of Tourism have now been eliminated, and it is now responsible for our tourist offices abroad and foreign publicity, which need flexibility and freedom from government complications. The ministry's task is to bring about total comfort for tourists, which will induce them to pour in."

#### Experts Discuss Tourist Projects

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 17 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Jamal al-Khuli]

[Text] In most countries of the world, advanced and developing ones alike, tourist activity plays a prominent role in financing national income, and is considered a major source for acquiring foreign currency.

Although Egypt is one of the countries in which the tourist "industry" represents a mainstay which one cannot ignore in this area, statistics have recently underlined the fact that the figures recorded by tourist activity in the past 2 years are trending downward. This is a phenomenon which gives the red light to people in charge of this vital sector.

The question now is, what are the obstacles in the way of the tourist industry in Egypt? What solutions could put an end to these obstacles?

The answer has been found in a number of studies and research works which were recently discussed by the conference on the organization and management of tourist activity to ascertain the most important causes of the slowdown in the development of tourist activity in Egypt.

Among these research works is one presented by 'Azmi al-Shaykh of the Technical Authority for Administrative Leaders' Programs. This revolves about ways and means for marketing tourist services. It stated that Egypt's share of international tourist activity is still slight, in spite of the many archaeological and historical features with which the country is graced, since the number of tourists coming to Egypt every year does not exceed 1.37 million, and their total spending comes to just \$280 million!

Perhaps the main reason for that may be found in the fact that Egypt still depends totally on cultural tourist activity, which involves visits to antiquities, and the people who engage in that do not account for more than 10 percent of international tourist activity.

#### Conflicting Jurisdictions

Another reason is the deficient nature of the basic facilities in various tourist towns and areas, not to mention the large number of bodies with jurisdiction and the conflicts among them in the central and local contexts, the failure to preserve tourist resources, the mediocre level of tourist services and the failure to draw up a serious, effective policy on tourist and hotel training.

In order for the marketing of tourist services to be effective, the research work spelled out a number of points. One of the most important of these was that the role of the government party be restricted to stimulating activity, through studies, planning and publicity, and supervision of tourist companies, and that it not interfere in commercial operations.

In addition, the private sector and investment companies should be encouraged to work on new tourist projects.

In addition, it is necessary to review and amend the law on foreign ownership of property and to study national incomes and per capita incomes in likely markets, where statistical studies show there is a high rate of export of tourists.

Another of these points is that tourist agreements should be reached between Egypt and the Arab countries, and the countries of the Arab east in particular,



and that there should be a study on the methods competing tourist countries follow, and on sending people engaged in tourist work on training fellowships abroad.

#### Coordination Is Needed!

Sami Amin Nassar, of the General Authority to Stimulate Tourist Activity, said "It is necessary to upgrade tourist activity as an important source of national income, in the sense of intensifying awareness of the vital nature of the role it plays, so that the various productive and service sectors can join forces in building the base.

"In addition, it is necessary to redraw the image of Egypt's tourist activity abroad, by diversifying the resources of tourist activity that are available, to go beyond the traditional notion of Egypt as just a museum of ancient civilization, and move on to a status which includes numerous other aspects which have come to be in greater demand in international markets, such as recreational tourist activity, river tourist activity, and tourist activity for medical treatment. This requires that one make haste in building up coastal centers on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and that one benefit from the tourist attributes of the Nile River.

"That will depend on the provision of an infrastructure, in the form of roads, railroads, water, electricity, sanitary drainage, and telecommunications systems.

"In addition, it will be necessary to open official bureaus to stimulate tourist activity in markets which have emerged on the tourist export stage, and provide suitable information and publicity materials, while trying to create competitive prices for comprehensive tourist programs and encouraging and expanding charter flights, now that those have become a basis for stimulating the flow of tourists to areas that are remote from export markets, especially with the rise in hotel capacity in Cairo and Alexandria, and the fact that they have been facing operating deficits."

He then stated, "Domestic tourist activity is the foundation on which foreign tourist activity must be built. Here is where the importance of working to spread about an awareness of it among citizens and to make them perceive the extent of their need for it comes in."

#### Tourist Expenses

Muhammad Kamal-al-Din 'Abd-al-Hamid, of the Commercial Institute in al-Zaqaziq, stressed the need to reduce the costs of tourist travel as much as possible, so that it will be possible to provide tourist services at a reasonable rate which is in keeping with the tourists' resources.

In order to do that, it is necessary to grant easy price terms in the cost of flights and exempt tourist imports and accessories from customs, as well as encouraging modern tourist installations to grow by exempting them from taxes.

In addition, it is necessary that the level of the availability and performance of tourist services measure up to the volume and form of the demand for them, since the level of tourist resources available, in terms of heritage, nature, installations and places of lodging, clubs, restaurants and so forth, is the criterion for the attainment of various tourist objectives which can be ascertained when one studies the specific aspects of demand.

In addition, the economic and financial system and the rules on the transfer of foreign currency in a given country play an essential role in tourist activity, in addition to the security systems and the tourist police's way of operating.

He stated, "Offering a high level of tourist services and choosing the optimum methods of offering publicity and promotion for them depends on the skill and ability of the personnel working in the tourist field and the extent to which they commit themselves to modern marketing techniques."

**The Balance Is Not in Our Favor!**

Jilán Nur, of the Radio and Television Federation, pointed out that Egypt has finished acquiring all the wherewithal for attracting tourists, now that the strategic and religious places in Sinai have been regained. It is natural that that will help increase the stimulation of tourist activity and develop the quality of tourists.

One fact worth pausing to consider is the statistics which the Central Bank has issued stating that there has been a drop in tourist income in 1981 of 85.8 million pounds from the previous year.

Another fact is that the balance of tourist activity is not in Egypt's favor. The total amount Egyptians spent on tourist activity abroad in 1981 was \$573 million, while the money tourists spent in Egypt was just \$562 million. The same was the case the previous year, and it is likely that that will be the case this year also, because of the decline in tourist income from the figure realized in 1980. Tourist companies consider that it is more profitable to export Egyptian tourists than to draw foreign tourists to Egypt and less bothersome as well, because these companies avoid many obstacles.

As a result of that, the remittances of Egyptian tourists abroad came to 200 million pounds this year, aside from unofficial remittances.

This all confirms that it is necessary to realize an improvement in the balance of tourist activity. It is absolutely unacceptable that tourist income in Egypt should be just \$500 million, while it should come to \$8,235,000,000 in a country like Italy!

**Marketing Deficiencies**

International circumstances, relations with foreign countries, and basic facilities enter into the tourist process.



Then there are elements which attract tourists, such as the seacoasts, rivers and mountain areas in Egypt, and the ways they are treated in restaurants, hotels and so forth.

Other obstacles to tourist activities which the study has pointed to is the large number of entities that take part in evaluating tourist services and the lack of coordination among them. There are for instance the antiquities, redevelopment, the new cities, and the local administrations, all of which engage in their activity in this area without coordination or cooperation.

There also are deficiencies in tourist marketing methods, not to speak of an absence of an agreed upon method for using land for the establishment of tourist projects, which ultimately has an effect on the cost of tourist services and keeps them below the level of competition from the countries in the area.

To that one should add the chaos in exchange rates of the Egyptian pound and the resulting distress which tourists suffer from, in addition to the failure to monitor tourist projects and the degree to which they are committed to specific schedules, and the mediocre surveillance over various tourist facilities, notwithstanding the number of agencies with oversight responsibility. International tourist experts, as part of a scientific study, have declared that the world's spending on tourist activity will come to \$1,062,000,000,000 in 1990, as compared with the \$652 billion spent last year. This requires that one hasten to cope with obstacles which will lead to a decline in tourist income in Egypt, so that we will be able to attract the greatest amount of tourist activity.

#### Egypt's Image!

Dr 'Abd-al-Karim al-Usul, of the National Planning Institute, talked about the problems and the future of tourist development in Egypt. He pointed out that there are some external problems, and some internal ones.

The external problems are related to Egypt's image in textbooks in foreign countries, its image in the media in these countries, and the means of publicizing and stimulating tourist activity through tourist offices and cultural centers, then its image in the Egyptian reception offices, consulates and embassies abroad, as well as the offices of the Egyptian airlines and shipping agencies abroad.

Figures show that while the 1952 index of hotel capacity and the number of tourists was 100, this figure, in 1964, came to 264.2 in the case of hotel capacity compared with 657.9 for the number of tourists. This underlines the need to enhance hotel capacity in Egypt. Some studies have recently shown that room construction is faced with a deficiency in self-financing and a rise in costs, not to speak of dependence on loans, and a failure to make serious studies before starting with the construction of projects related to this sector.

They have also shown the presence of restrictions and conditions regarding the workforce, when it is appointed, as well as a deficiency in tourist activity training and preparation policy!

## Social Tourist Activity!

Concerning the opportunities for developing social tourist activity in Egypt, Siham Mahmud Fu'ad, of the Egoth Company, stated, "There are factors which have an influence on the individual tourist. These have been formed as a result of cultural interaction, personal development, religious beliefs, and beliefs regarding what has been published regarding various tourist countries. There are external factors which influence the tourist, on the other hand, such as the geographical location of the country he is thinking of visiting, political stability, and that country's social and economic situation.

"Since the forces that affect tourists are restricted by their material savings, various tourist countries have competed to give them the greatest amount of easy terms, as embodied in rates for tourist excursions, their compatibility with the tourists' resources, and the degree of suitability of lodgings.

"Here is where the importance of engaging in further construction of low-cost hotels in which elements of comfort and cleanliness will be present comes in, added to 'pensions,' lodging with families, tourist villages, and what one might call supplementary means of accommodation such as tents, moveable housing, chalets and what are called tourist villages that are established on coasts."

### The Hilwan Baths

Dr Wafa' Ahmad, of the National Planning Institute, said that tourist villages should be viewed as an attempt to put the Hilwan baths back into operation on a new scientific basis and to start establishing medical treatment tourist activity on sound environmental bases in Egypt. It appears that the city of Hilwan can regain its world fame if good planning is done for that, by reducing the air pollution and avoiding expansion in the factories there.

The area represents a center for treatment, with the health units and the hospital it contains, in which all facilities for treatment are present. The treatment center has been planned to accommodate 4,000 patients.

The recreational center in the area covers a total of 400 hectares, and it can provide services for about 8,000 people who pass through in the form of residents of Hilwan, Cairo and suburbs.

### There Remains the Execution!

Finally, what recommendations have experts in tourist organization and administration come up with?

1. Attention to infrastructure projects and the effort to upgrade the level of distinctive tourist services.
2. Study of economic decrees before they are issued.

3. The setting out of a long range development plan through which areas of tourist development and investment projects that are in keeping with the circumstances of each area are determined.
4. The performance of continuous studies on the prevailing trends in areas related to tourist development.
5. The setting out of a clear policy for dealing with investors in the area of tourist activity outside the governmental sector.
6. The effort to continue efforts for the sake of protecting the environment in general.
7. The intensification of media activity with the goal of developing tourist behavior among citizens.
8. The study of the optimum method of tourist investment in the context of national and international circumstances, with attention to high-income tourist projects.
9. Preservation of the cultural heritage and tourist installations.
10. The introduction of courses on tourist activity into national curricula at various educational levels.
11. A review of the relationship between the Ministries of Tourism and Local Government.
12. The need for grades for evaluating tourist activity.
13. A review of the areas of competence of the Higher Council of Tourism to achieve coordination among the agencies that serve tourists.
14. The preparation of special bylaws for people working in the Ministry of Tourism and its various sectors.
15. The elimination of duplication and overlap between the Ministry of Tourism and the General Authority to Stimulate Tourist Activity, and the creation of integration between them.
16. Attention to the human element active in the area of tourist activity, in terms of training, education, development and the preparation of tourist personnel through a deeper, more comprehensive and more developed vision.

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CSO: 4504/499

## INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION FIGURES REPORTED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 6 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] Industry Minister Dr Muhammad al-Sayyid al-Gharuri announced that 116 industrial companies belonging to the ministry achieved a volume of production valued at 5.078 billion pounds for the financial year ending 31 June. This was 383 million pounds over the target and represented an increase of 1 million pounds a day and a total of 600 million pounds over the previous year's production. The increase in relative terms was 13 percent. All the industrial sectors achieved the targeted production with the exception of the textiles sector which achieved 94 percent or 6 percent idle capacity. Some 46 companies failed to achieve the target production including 22 in the textiles sector, 3 in the food sector, 12 in the chemicals sector, 6 in the metals and engineering sector, and 3 in the mining sector.

The values of production in various sectors were as follows: textiles, 1.317 billion pounds; foodstuffs, 1.664 billion pounds; chemicals, 600 million pounds; metallurgy, 1.423 billion pounds; and mining and energy, 74 million pounds.

The minister added that the industrial companies achieved exports valued at 423.6 million pounds last year--some 4 million pounds under last year's figure. The levels by sector were: textiles, 94 percent; foodstuffs, 91 percent; chemicals, 83 percent; metallurgy and engineering, 112 percent; and mining and energy, 76 percent.

The production of commodities for last year was as follows: 265,000 tons of raw sugar, 432,000 tons of white sugar, 314,000 tons of refined sugar, 336,000 tons of molasses, 221,000 tons of food oil, 143,000 tons of margarine, 349,000 tons of soap and cleansers, 1.403 million tons of animal feed, 40 billion cigarettes, 119,000 tons of (powdered) and natural milk, 23,000 tons of white cheese, 26,000 tons of preserved fruits, 2,800 tons of tomato products, and 1,773,000 tons of canned vegetables.

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BAHA'-AL-DIN WRITES ON CAIRO'S PROBLEMS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 Jul 83

[Editorial by Ahmad Baha'-al-Din]

[Text] The reader is exactly right who wrote: "There is no so-called 'traffic problem'. It is really the 'Cairo problem.'"

In other words, it is impossible to look at the traffic problem without considering many other problems, including torn-up streets that slow traffic, the dock works that force pedestrians to walk in the busy street, a city left without planning, which adds to the entanglement of traffic, and so on.

These comments are exactly right. And if I were writing, for example, a complete study of the traffic problem, I would have to deal with dozens of problems of our great but neglected Cairo. But the necessities of newspaper publishing make the writer break problems up into vehicular problems, pedestrian problems, problems concerning buildings and building laws, and so on.

However, it would appear that this way of dealing with each little subproblem separately in the press prevents some readers from seeing that they are all parts of one worsening and every growing problem which, as the reader correctly identified it, is the "Cairo problem."

Therefore, it is very important that we call attention to this. And while the efforts of the traffic people to study the problem on their own contribute something within their sphere of responsibility--and every responsible agency should speak within its own field--we must also have an "integrated view" of all aspects of the "Cairo problem" with the participation of all responsible parties. We must formulate a long-range integrated plan to solve the problem in all its aspects from the migration from rural areas to urban areas all the way to the construction of overpasses and the efforts of the traffic police.

I understand from Interior Minister Hasan Abu Basha that a high traffic committee has been formed and will include representatives from a variety of specialties, although I do not know the exact details. This is a step in the right direction. But there must also be a higher committee with the authority to make recommendations at the level of all the facilities that contribute to the Cairo problem and with sufficient power so that all of its solutions will have an impact on the traffic problem.



OPPOSITION LEADER SHUKRI ADDRESSES CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 761, 27 Jul 83 pp 33-35

[Interview with Opposition Labor Party President Ibrahim Shukri: "Egyptian Opposition Leader Ibrahim Shukri Tells AL-YAMAMAH, 'We Will Not Take Part in the Elections';"]

[Text] This is a very sensitive and a very grave period in Egypt's political life. Not since President Mubarak took office has the confrontation between the government and the opposition reached a point of such vehemence. The government's failure to solve the problems of the public is forcing it to place more restrictions on the opposition to cover up its alarming failure. Because the economic crisis is getting worse, the unorganized public discontent is posing the threat of an explosion whose proportions would be known only to God.

It is in this tense political climate that the Wafd Party, with its broad masses, is preparing to announce that it is resuming its activity--just as AL-YAMAMAH had predicted it would over 2 months ago. Some independent members of the opposition are also making preparations to announce the establishment of a new party called the Justice Party. Other indicators show that an independent Nasirist Party will soon be announced.

All evidence affirms that the government and the opposition front are working as hard as they can to prepare for the elections campaign that will take place in mid 1984. These preparations are being made on the basis of the fact that this campaign will be one that will determine the future for years to come.

The government is trying to set up a new system of elections, an "absolute list" system by means of which it would ensure that opposition candidates lose in the elections so the government would not have to falsify election results as blatantly as it did in the last elections which were held in al-Sadat's administration.

So far President Mubarak has not defined his final position on this [elections] campaign. Although he heads the ruling party, he seems dissatisfied with that party's failure to solve the problems of the public. There is news affirming that the president intends to make radical changes in government and party organizations after the Bairam feast. This is because he has become convinced that present policies are leading the country to certain disaster. Government circles,



however, are declaring that the president is siding with his party and his government and that he will not allow the opposition to go beyond the narrow limits that were set for it.

Amidst this inflammatory and confrontational political atmosphere between the government and the opposition, an interview with Ibrahim Shukri, opposition leader in the People's Assembly and president of the socialist Labor Party becomes a matter of urgent necessity. This is because this interview will reveal to us in the words of the leader of one of the two feuding fronts the real dimensions of the struggle. It is because Ibrahim Shukri, a man with a long history of struggle before and after the Revolution, is the best one to tell us the truth at a time when we need the truth the most. It is also because Ibrahim Shukri is an honest member of the opposition who puts the interests of his country before those of his party.

In the course of my lengthy interview with Ibrahim Shukri the opposition leader said, "The government of the National Party proved [what turned out to be] its devastating failure to oppose the vital problems of the country. This government has to resign and leave its place to those who can do a better job of running the country's affairs."

Mr Shukri said that most of the people around President Mubarak were al-Sadat's men who are resisting any attempt for change or reform because such change will conflict with their interests and threaten their presence in power.

Ibrahim Shukri affirmed that opposition parties will boycott the next parliamentary elections if they are carried out according to the "absolute list" system because the purpose of that method is to ensure that only the government's candidates win in the elections.

The opposition leader welcomes the creation of new parties or the resumption of activities by the Wafd Party because [he thinks] this will help stimulate political life and will get people out of their passivity.

Finally, Ibrahim Shukri said that the Camp David policy was responsible for the disunity and fragmentation that exist among the Arabs. He said that action must be taken to avoid the negative effects of this policy and to expedite the restoration of relations between Egypt and the Arabs.

[Question] The opposition has begun making preparations for the People's Assembly elections that will be held in mid 1984. What is the attitude of the Labor Party, which you chair, toward these elections which will be the first elections for the People's Assembly after the assassination of al-Sadat? What is the party's attitude toward the "formulas" that the government is proposing as a foundation for conducting these elections?

[Answer] We welcome every elections campaign, and we think each campaign is an important opportunity to present our ideas and reach out to the public. We hope that our party will be better represented in future assemblies than it is in the present assembly. Regarding the formulas on whose bases the elections could be held, we prefer the present formula, which is that of individual electoral districts. But if the government wishes to apply the formula of tickets in the next

elections, the only such system we will accept is that of "a proportional list" in which seats in the assembly are distributed to the various parties according to the percentage of votes each party won in the elections. The "absolute list" system, which the government seems inclined to adopt, is one that we totally reject. We cannot take part in the elections on that basis.

[AL-YAMAMAH]: The "absolute list" system means that the ruling party would get all the seats in the parliamentary councils if it wins 51 percent of the vote. Thus, 49 percent of the votes that went to the opposition would have been cast in vain.

[Question] It is known that elections for local councils and for the Consultative Council will be held before the end of this year and that the "absolute list" system will be followed in these elections. Does this mean that you will boycott these elections?

[Answer] We did in the past boycott the first elections that were held for the Consultative Council--these were held during al-Sadat's administration--because the "absolute list" system was used in these elections. That system is actually nothing but a way to bring back the single party system; it does that by using the law or by presenting the people with an accomplished fact. This is something we reject completely.

[Question] Are there any plans for setting up a front or a coalition between the parties and forces of the opposition to counteract the government's party in the coming elections?

[Answer] This will depend largely on the manner in which these elections will be conducted. If the elections are conducted in an atmosphere of freedom, the need to establish a unified front of opposition parties will diminish. This is because each party has its programs and policies that differ from those of other parties. The election process provides an opportunity for testing these programs and policies.

But as the saying goes, necessity knows no law. If opposition parties discover during the elections campaign that they are being threatened by common dangers and that confronting these dangers was more important than having each party hold on to its own chance to win, giving consideration to the matter of setting up a front would then become necessary and urgent.

I can say that there is always some coordination going on between opposition parties. Such coordination serves the objectives of these parties and is required particularly in the course of elections. Coordination is required during elections especially since no party can singlehandedly cover all electoral districts.

[Question] Some months ago you as leader of the opposition held hearings in the People's Assembly to question the government about the breakdown that has been happening in public facilities. You questioned the government about the fact that problems were getting worse and about the hardships created for the public by these problems. After the discussions at those hearings there were no breakthroughs [and no solutions to] these problems. In fact, the situation got worse and deteriorated further. What is the opposition's attitude toward this breakdown in government operations that is causing a raging wave of discontent among the masses?

[Answer] When I offered to hold these hearings, the state of affairs was such that one could no longer hold his peace. In fact, we had to issue a stern warning against all the dangers and damages that were affecting the public. It was our national duty not to stand in the face of the government's unrestrained policies with our hands tied behind our backs. These policies are sometimes so conflicting that the interests of the public are threatened by them. Unfortunately, however, the head of the government did not afford the matter the seriousness it deserves and did not subject it to an objective discussion. Instead, he tried at first to forestall this hearing and to keep it out of the agenda of the People's Assembly under the pretext that it did not fulfill legal conditions.

When that attempt by the head of the government failed and the hearings became an accomplished fact, he tried once again to downplay the situation and belittle the magnitude of the problems that I had presented at the hearings. He tried to make light of the matter and not to attach too much importance to it.

As I said the problems grew after the hearings; they did not diminish. We had complained of the negligence which led to the sinking of a ferry in the Nile and the loss of scores of citizens' lives in that accident. We are now complaining of negligence that led to the sinking of the ship, 10 Ramadan. That ship sank in the Aswan Dam Lake, and 350 innocent citizens lost their lives in that accident.

The breakdown is such that all newspapers now, including official newspapers, are writing about it; they are writing about the government's negligence which is posing a threat to the public health of citizens.

Therefore I am saying that the cabinet of Dr Fu'ad Muhi al-Din has to resign. President Mubarak has to entrust the government to people who would be more capable of managing the affairs of the country and of carrying out policies that are better than present policies.

[Question] The Council of State has ruled against the establishment of the National Front Party which is led by Mumtaz Nassar, Kamal al-Din Husayn and 'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi. The Council of State based its decision on the law regulating political parties which was drafted in al-Sadat's administration. That law prohibits the establishment of any party whose leaders publicly opposed the Camp David policy. Would you comment on that?

[Answer] This issue actually shows how far we had gone in al-Sadat's administration in subjugating the laws and using them to serve objectives and purposes that are incompatible with the interests of citizens or with the spirit of the Egyptian constitution. The basic principle of the constitution is the freedom of citizens to organize groups and parties.

We went so far as having a stipulation in the law that regulates political parties against persons who objected to the treaties between Egypt and Israel: the law denies them the right to organize new parties. This law even stipulated that the survival of existing parties depended on the fact that none of their leaders be individuals who had expressed opposition to Camp David. This means that the people and the parties that represent them are being forced into a certain political direction, and this violates the principle of free opinions. There is nothing like that, not even in Israel. I do not believe that Israel

would accept having such a peculiar condition imposed on its parties and its citizens. Evidence for that lies in the fact that Israeli Knesset member Ge'ula Cohen tore up a copy of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in front of Begin in the Knesset, and her conduct did not affect her political status.

[Question] In fact Yitzhak Shamir, Israel's present minister of foreign affairs, was one of those who objected to the Camp David treaty when it was signed. At that time he was speaker of the Knesset.

[Answer] The ruling against the establishment of the National Front party and the reasons for that ruling which were published in newspapers have alerted people to the fact that there is a law on the books, the law that regulates political parties, that should not be there. Opposition parties mounted an early opposition to that faulty law, particularly because of that condition which links the organization of parties with approval of the Camp David policy. We have called for the repeal of this law, and we are calling again for its repeal and for the repeal of other emergency laws that restrict liberties. People have called such laws laws of ill repute.

I proposed a bill to the People's Assembly that would repeal all these laws. The government objected to my proposal, arguing that these laws supplemented the constitution. Actually, instead of supplementing the constitution, these laws are putting restraints on the constitution.

[Question] It is expected that new parties like the Wafd Party, the Justice Party and other parties will be established and that the government will object to the establishment of those parties. What is the position of the socialist Labor Party on the freedom of organizing parties in general?

[Answer] As a matter of principle we support the freedom of people to organize parties, regardless of the effect these parties have on Egypt's political map. It is our opinion that this map is not constant. No one can predict how large any party will be. That will depend on the practices of each party, the practices of each party's leaders and the extent to which the principles of each party express the interests of the public and the responsiveness of the public to these principles.

The effect that the establishment of these new parties might have on the status of our party is something that we do not think about. We think that the mere establishment of these parties is an affirmation of the principle of multiple parties to which we are dedicated. The establishment of new parties may also stimulate political life [in the country]; it may get people out of the state of political passivity in which they have been living, and it may force them to assume more positive positions.

[Question] There are certainly historical reasons for this political passivity, aren't there?

[Answer] Most certainly. It is for this reason that we say that the presence of new parties may persuade people to give up this passivity.

[Question] During the first months of President Mubarak's administration, people

were optimistic. They said there was evidence that a change was occurring in all the policies and practices about which people have been complaining. Now, more than 1 year and a half of President Mubarak's administration, it has become clear that all the policies and practices that were rejected by the people are being vigorously defended. Does this mean that al-Sadat's party is stronger than any desire for change and reform?

[Answer] The people around President Mubarak are the same people who were in power during the administration of President al-Sadat. They think that any change will have to begin with them. Therefore, we find them resisting change vigorously. Despite the personal differences that exist among those people, they feel they share the same interests and the same destiny. Therefore we see them all defending the misguided policies of the past and resisting any tendency for change because they see such a tendency for change as a threat to their existence.

President Mubarak introduced new policies and called for a national, not a narrow, partisan investigation into our national problems. He said that Egypt belonged to all Egyptians. When he called for a conference on the economy early in his administration, he invited not only the ruling party, but he also invited all parties to participate. He himself participated in that conference not as president, but as a participant like all other participants. This was a good gesture whose numerous implications had been missed in the past.

After that there was a call for a conference on Egypt Tomorrow. The call for that conference was met with considerable enthusiasm. Dr Ahmad Khalifah was chosen to chair that conference, and preparations did in fact begin for it. Five public figures were chosen to chair the working committees of the conference, and I had the honor of chairing one of them. The choice of these chairmen was not confined to the members of the ruling party. Some of those chairmen were independents, and some were members of the opposition. That was a good beginning.

Suddenly, however, everything came to a standstill, and Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din announced that the Conference of Egypt Tomorrow would be postponed indefinitely.

What was curious is that I met President Mubarak a few weeks after this announcement was made. I asked him, "How come the conference on Egypt Tomorrow was postponed, and how come that announcement was not made by Dr Ahmad Khalifah, the person who is in charge of making preparations for the conference?" The president then told me that the conference would be convened in October. He meant October 1982. But of course October [came and] went, and the conference was not convened.

That was evidence of the fact that there were people opposed to President Mubarak's policies. There was nothing peculiar after that about finding ourselves at a standstill regarding the question of change. We also found that change was happening very slowly in some areas or locations. Therefore, that change was not producing the required effect and not creating a feeling among the people that the intention to change all policies whose failure has been proven was real. People did not feel that those who had contributed to misguided and harmful decisions and policies would be replaced.

[Question] Let's pause briefly and think about the decision that was issued by the Constitutional Court during al-Sadat's administration. The court ruled that



the decree disbanding the board of directors of the Bar Association was unconstitutional. When we observe that the government has so far declined to execute this historical decision, isn't this new evidence that there are forces fiercely resisting change?

[Answer] Exactly. The decision by the Constitutional Court is considered a slap in the face of all those who had a hand in drafting this law. It is a slap in the face of all those who presented it to the People's Assembly and all those who supported it; and its supporters are well-known ministers who were in the cabinet during al-Sadat's administration and are still in the cabinet in Mubarak's administration. Those ministers should have resigned their positions immediately, as soon as the Constitutional Court rendered its decision. However, the question for those people is no more than holding on to positions of power as though they were holding on to dear life itself. They don't realize that this will not help them for long. They don't realize that by doing that they are hurting their country, and they are also hurting President Mubarak's regime.

[Question] The government is claiming that the opposition is using the public's problems to make deals in order to come to power. How would you respond to that charge?

[Answer] This is an attempt to turn people's attention away from the objective problems that the opposition is raising. The tone used by the opposition in talking about these problems is considered very mild. It may even be milder than that used by some of the writers who write in official newspapers. In general, the tone of the opposition in Egypt is not to be compared with the tone used by the opposition in other countries where democracy is exercised, where people are not sensitive to criticism and where they see nothing wrong in showing the real magnitude of problems to the public because the public must know everything.

It seems that our government does not believe in the principle of laying out all the facts in front of the public. Therefore, we notice there is a large confidence gap between the government and the public. We notice that the public does not trust official bulletins which portray their problems in a manner that has nothing to do with the real world they are living in and experiencing.

Regarding our wish to come to power, that wish is no crime as long as we use legitimate, democratic ways to reach power. That is, as long as we take part in free and honest elections and win the popular majority that would allow us to rule. We want power through this legitimate method. We do not want a presidential decree issued by President Mubarak giving us the power, instead of the present government.

[Question] Is what is happening now on the Palestinian, Lebanese and Arab scenes in general evidence of the fact that the Camp David policy was the only policy for solving the problem with Israel? Or is what is happening evidence of the direct opposite of that?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the disunity and fragmentation that the Arabs are experiencing now are among the destructive effects of the Camp David policy. Any positive results that we are told we obtained from Camp David pale to insignificance beside these results. We could have obtained these positive results [without Camp David] had we preserved the strong, cohesive Arab front that we had when



we fought the October War. This cohesive front, with all of Egypt's prestige at its center, could have solved not only the Egyptian problem, but also the Palestinian problem that the Camp David Accords failed to solve.

In addition to their failure to solve the Palestinian question, the Camp David Accords also broke up the Arab rank. This is what we must try to correct immediately. Our urgent mission now is to try to restore cohesiveness to the Arab rank. After that we are to restore the effectiveness that we have been missing by restoring Egypt to the Arab rank. We must not allow a few obstacles to stand in the way of achieving that objective. For example, some Arabs are setting a condition to Egypt's return to the Arab rank: Egypt is to abrogate the Camp David Accords. This condition is not practical. The first part of the Camp David Accords has actually been implemented. And although some problems still linger, such as the status of Taba, the status of the demilitarized zone, the status of the multi-national force and other matters, Israel's conditional withdrawal from Sinai has been completed.

No results have been reached in that part of the accords that has to do with the Palestinian question. Camp David failed completely to solve that problem. We can declare the failure of that part of the accords and look for a new way to solve the Palestinian question. To do this we can work with our fellow Arabs and with those forces that are interested in stability in the region.

Therefore, I don't believe that it is necessary to abrogate Camp David altogether.

Regarding the problem of political representation between Egypt and the Arab countries, the continued rift in relations between Egypt and the Arab countries is unacceptable. And the presence in Egypt of interests section offices for those countries instead of embassies because there is an Israeli Embassy in Cairo is also unacceptable. If the political exchange of ambassadors between these countries and Egypt is not possible now, let that exchange begin at a lower level as a step in the right direction.

From a practical standpoint, relations between Egypt and the Arab countries have grown in the past years. I heard Iraqi officials say that the number of employees in the Iraqi interests office in Egypt is more than the number of employees the Iraqi embassy in Egypt used to have. The same is true of the Egyptian interests office in Iraq.

What is required, however, is that we remove this hateful picture of conducting relations between Egypt and other Arab countries under the banner of a third country.

I am not one of the proponents of the immediate return of the Arab League to Cairo. This question is not an urgent one, and it may be postponed. We may begin [that process] gradually by returning some of the Arab League's specialized activities to Cairo.

Let me say finally that regarding the question of Egyptian-Arab relations, we must adhere to the wise saying that one must not abandon completely what one does not understand fully.

COURSE OF MUBARAK'S RELATIONSHIP WITH OPPOSITION EXPLORED

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 761, 27 Jul 83 pp 30-32

[Article: "The Government and the Opposition: The Clash Is Real; the Results Are Deferred"]

[Text] Not even the most pessimistic of pessimists could have imagined that relations between President Mubarak's regime and national forces of the opposition could have deteriorated to that degree before the president completed 2 years in office.

After the assassination of President al-Sadat in October 1981 A.D., relations between the two sides started out on the best of terms.

The opposition declared its optimism with President Mubarak on the first day. It declared that it was extremely concerned about providing all the conditions for the success of his experience in government. This was natural because what the opposition had gone through under the administration of President al-Sadat made it welcome any other ruler who succeeded him, even before it had a chance to have any common experiences with him.

President Mubarak was equally gracious in his response to the opposition. He consulted with its leaders on all strategic and vital questions, and he even thought at one time of asking some members of the opposition to join him in a coalition government that he would head.

But the honeymoon between the two sides did not last long. Although President Mubarak used to meet every month or two with Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the Labor Party; with Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, leader of the Grouping Party; and with Mustafa Kamil Murad, leader of the Liberal Party, there have been no communications whatsoever between him and them for over 6 months. In fact, the three leaders submitted a joint memorandum on behalf of their parties on "The Question of Democracy in Egypt and Its Relationship with the Next Parliamentary Elections." This memorandum was submitted last December, and President Mubarak has not yet responded to it.

The deteriorating relations between the president and the opposition reached a new low when President Mubarak signed the law regulating the Bar Association last April--that law which the Council of State recently ruled was invalid.

The deterioration in those relations became critical when President Mubarak attacked opposition parties and newspapers in his 1st of May address. President Mubarak's tone was sharp; it was a tone he had never used before in his political speeches.

None of this, however, caused the opposition to give up completely on President Mubarak's regime. The opposition's analysis of its attitude toward Mubarak was based on the fact that forces loyal to al-Sadat still made up an important part of President Mubarak's regime. The opposition knew that these forces were trying to create a crisis in relations between the president and the national opposition parties. The opposition knew that its role was to forestall these forces that are loyal to al-Sadat and not to burn the bridges of personal understanding [it had established] with President Mubarak.

The opposition continued to hold on to this political analysis until "that incident" occurred which killed every hope the opposition may have entertained in Mubarak's entire regime.

"The incident" that killed all hope was that of the parliamentary elections which are to begin this year with elections for local councils and elections for the Consultative Council. These elections will culminate in the middle of next year with elections for the People's Assembly.

The opposition believed that President Mubarak with his new directions and policies will give up that system that President al-Sadat had devised for conducting elections for local councils and for the Consultative Council. President al-Sadat had devised an "absolute list" system. This peculiar system can be found nowhere in the world except in South Korea, which is ruled by a backward police regime. This system was also used in Italy during the days of the dictator Mussolini, and it was also used by his colleague Salazar in Portugal.

This system requires that parties take part in elections held for the Consultative Council or for local councils by listing the names of all their candidates on party tickets. The party whose ticket gets 51 percent of the vote wins all the seats in a council of representatives. The rest of the parties that get 49 percent of the vote would not even get one seat. The danger of such a system becomes evident especially in a country with conditions like Egypt's. The ruling National Party which is backed by the government's power, manifested in all its security and police agencies, can resort to a variety of illegal means to obtain 51 percent of the vote. That party would thus take over all the seats in the Consultative Council and in the local councils. In return, the votes of 49 percent of the electorate who voted for the candidates of the opposition would have been cast in vain. And all this would take place under the large heading of democracy.

The opposition thought that President Mubarak understood all this and would therefore abandon that "absolute list" system, the system that al-Sadat had copied from the files of international dictatorship. But the president gave the opposition a severe shock when he held on to that system and announced that elections for the Consultative Council and for local councils would be held on the basis of that system. The opposition's reaction to the president's announcement was equally stern and vehement. The three opposition parties declared that they would completely boycott the elections for the Consultative Council and for local

councils because they were a "dictatorial travesty" of the elections process that was being conducted in a setting of false democracy. The opposition parties announced they would let the ruling party launch an elections campaign all by itself so that the truth about the trick that this party is playing on the masses can be revealed. The opposition parties also called upon all the Egyptian public to boycott this travesty of the elections process.

The opposition's vehement response had more than one aim.

First, it wanted its statement heard loudly and clearly by President Mubarak personally. It wanted the president to realize that al-Sadat's party, which has surrounded him, was getting him involved in fighting battles that were not his own with all the Egyptian nationalist forces.

Second, the opposition wanted the president to know that it could retract its positions or hammer out deals on many secondary issues, but it would never hammer out a deal on a question that has to do with the essence of democracy and the freedom of parliamentary representation.

Third, the opposition wanted the regime to learn from the mistakes it had made in the elections that were held for the Consultative Council and for local councils so that it would not repeat the same mistakes in the elections it will hold for the People's Assembly. These elections, which will be held in the middle of next year, are more significant and more serious. By boycotting the elections for the Consultative Council and for local councils and by calling on voters to boycott these elections as well, the opposition was declaring that it was willing to repeat the same position in the elections that will be held for the People's Assembly, thereby placing the regime in its entirety in a political and democratic crisis whose consequences cannot be predicted.

But it seems that that warning was not communicated clearly to the regime. It also seems that the warning was communicated but that the regime's reaction was to attach little importance to it or to those who sent it. Therefore we saw the regime "insisting" on repeating the same travesty or tragedy in the upcoming elections for the People's Assembly. After intense meetings between President Mubarak and his senior aides, Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din announced that instead of using a system of candidates competing to represent individual electoral districts, a system which was used in Egypt ever since Egypt started having elections, a decision had been made to use the system of "proportional list" in the elections that will be held for the People's Assembly.

The new system, as outlined by the prime minister, denies opposition parties the right to get any seats in the People's Assembly if each party [participating in the election] fails to get 10 percent of the vote. If a party were to get only 9.5 percent of the vote, it would come out of the election campaign empty-handed. If the three parties together were to get 28.5 percent of the vote, that fact would not allow them to have one seat in the People's Assembly. Furthermore, if there were 9 opposition parties and if all of them together got 89 percent of the vote but not a single one of the candidates got 10 percent of the vote, and if the ruling party were to get 11 percent of the vote, that party would get all the seats in the People's Assembly even though it represents a small minority. Meanwhile, the votes of the majority would have been cast in vain.

Among the features of this creative system of elections is the fact that it restricts the right to run in an elections campaign to existing parties only. Parties and movements that have not yet received permission to pursue their activities, such as al-Wafd Party, the Muslim Brothers, the Nasirists and others are denied that right. It is no secret that only a small minority of Egypt's national and political forces are represented by those parties which do in fact exist: the ruling party or the opposition parties; the undeclared parties, however, represent broad sectors of the population in Egypt's rural and urban areas.

There is no doubt that the arbitrary decision to prevent members of the Wafd Party, the Muslim Brothers and Nasirists from running in the elections will create a sharp conflict between these popular forces and the regime. The Wafd Party has announced its determination to resume its political activity very soon; it will take advantage of the anniversary of Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahhas next 23 August to announce its return to political activity. At the same time the Wafd will announce its list of candidates for the next elections for the People's Assembly. The Wafd will do that despite the system of elections that was devised by the government.

The question that is being raised now is this: What will happen if the government insists on keeping the Wafd Party out of the elections and if the Wafd insists on running?

The new system of elections is keeping the Wafd Party, Nasirists, Muslim Brothers as well as independents out of the elections. This is because independent politicians, in the opinion of the regime, are an unknown quantity; their objectives are unknown, and they do not adhere to a certain party program. Denying independents [their right to run in an election] means denying a basic force in the Egyptian population its right to engage in a political activity and its right to exercise its democratic rights.

The purpose of keeping all these forces out of the elections process and tying the hands of the existing opposition with the 10 percent condition is to keep the political scene open to the ruling National Party which is in fact controlled by chief elements in al-Sadat's regime.

The ruling party sensed that opposition parties may form a coalition or a front to counteract all these obstacles which the new system of elections was setting up in front of them. The ruling party sensed that opposition parties may amass their forces and unify their efforts to run the next elections campaign. Therefore the ruling party took the precaution of stipulating in the election laws a ban against the establishment of any front or coalition between existing parties.

To put it briefly, President Mubarak's aides have gotten him entangled in a set of anti-democratic systems and laws that conflict with the wishes of nationalist forces. These systems and laws are an extension of those that President al-Sadat had become addicted to in the last years of his administration. It was these systems and laws that hastened his demise. The difference between the two men is this: al-Sadat was the one who used to ask his aides to draft these laws, and his aides used to comply. With Mubarak, however, it is the aides who are proposing and drafting those laws for their own personal motives, and it is the president who is signing them and becoming embroiled in difficulties.



The vice president of the Liberal Party, which is the opposition party that has the closest relations with the government, spoke about President Mubarak's new position. He said, "I met President Mubarak several times. I used to have hope, but now I don't. Despite the positions he has taken, he did not invite us for a consultation. We are [now] asking him to turn to the people because the well of patience has run dry."

Another opposition leader said, "We are calling upon President Mubarak to forfeit the government and win over the people, instead of winning the government and forfeiting the people."

Speaking in a sharper tone, prominent opposition leader Dr Hilmi Murad said, "I am warning President Mubarak against pursuing this course just as I warned President al-Sadat before him."

One of the most serious consequences of the declaration of the new system of elections is the fact that all nationalist opposition forces have found themselves united in a real political front opposing the government's despotism. After discussions about a front had been left up to conditions, deliberations and negotiations, the front has now become an accomplished fact overnight. The most serious thing about this front is the fact that it includes Muslim Brothers, Marxists, Wafdis and Nasirists. In other words, yesterday's enemies are now today's friends, thanks to the efforts of the National Party government.

There is no doubt that the coming months will witness a fierce battle between this government and the front that opposes it. There is [also] no doubt that the autumn which will follow this hot summer will be "an autumn of fury" like that of 1981 A.D. However, history has taught us one lesson: history never repeats itself.

8592

CSO: 4504/515



## DAMIETTA PORT DEVELOPMENT DETAILED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 10 Jul 83 p 8

[Article by Hasan 'Ashur: "International Companies Participate in Construction of Six Piers at the Port of Damietta"]

[Text] Engineer Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, minister of reconstruction and minister of state for housing and land reclamation, joined with representatives of a group of French and Japanese international companies in signing a contract for the implementation of the second part of the first phase of the new Port of Damietta. This contract includes the construction of six new piers which will bring the number of piers in the port up to 12 by the end of the first phase with a total capacity of 5.6 million tons a year. The first phase will end in 1985.

The first part of the construction in this phase of the port is expected to end in 1984. The operating capacity will be 2.5 million tons at this time.

The final cost will be 253 million pounds. The French companies are contributing to this cost with a loan totaling 140 million pounds and are responsible for the construction and civil works. The Japanese government is providing a 24-million-pound loan for excavation and dredging work.

Engineer Hasballah al-Kafrawi stated that special studies pertaining to the construction of the second phase of the port are now undergoing preparation. The total cost of this phase will be 135 million pounds. The second phase will bring the total number of piers up to 27 with a capacity of 16.5 million tons of goods with the opportunity to increase the number of piers subsequently to yield a capacity of 23 million tons.

He said that the first phase of grain silo construction is now under way. This phase, which will end in 1985, calls for construction of 42 silos with a capacity of 100,000 tons. Another 42 silos with a capacity of 100,000 tons will be built to serve the second phase of port construction along with breakwaters for the port in the middle of next year.

The port will include piers for interchanging containers. These are the first of their kind in the Middle East. Studies for the construction of a new city of Damietta to accommodate the labor that will be employed by the port have already been completed.

This new city will be built to the west of the port on an area of 4,000 feddans. It will include a service and tourist area on the sea and areas for administrative housing. Some 350 housing units will be built immediately in the new city to serve the first phase of the port.

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CSO: 4504/496

# LAND RECLAMATION PROJECTS DESCRIBED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 15 Jul 83 p 6

[Article by 'Adil Shafiq: "Reclamation of 50,000 Feddans With Cultivation of Fruit, Vegetables, and Herbs"]

[Text] Minister of Irrigation Engineer 'Abd-al-Hadi Samahah has decided to reclaim some 50,000 feddans in the Matruh Desert and cultivate this area with fruit, vegetables, and herbs. The project will begin this year with the planting of 20,000 feddans with several crops to be used for local consumption in the governorates of al-Buhayrah and Alexandria. Surplus crops will be exported. The utilization of this land will be made possible through the use of water from the public drainage canal into which the canals of al-Buhayrah governorate flow. This water flows into the Mediterranean Sea and is wasted. The water from the drainage canal will be mixed with water from the al-Nubariyah Canal. This canal flows in the Maryut Desert through al-'Amiriyah, Burj al-'Arab, and Markaz al-Hammam.

The minister explained: "Egypt has succeeded in using drainage water to irrigate most crops. Studies have shown that Egypt can utilize 13 billion cubic meters of this water either as it is or mixed with fresh water. Work has already begun on the construction of six pumping stations to lift the drainage water and reutilize it after purification in certain areas located in the canal that runs through Isma'iliyah, al-Tajin, and al-Bats in al-Fayyum. Reutilization of water for irrigation is the main method of confronting the growing needs for irrigation water." He said that experiments conducted by the ministry on 2,000 feddans in the area of al-Jabal al-Asfar proved that crops can be covered with treated drainage water without destroying the fertility of the land.

Dr Mahmud Abuzayd, head of the Water Research Center, said that the development of irrigation and the lining of canals to stop the loss of water from irrigation systems are currently under way in the governorates of al-Minya, al-Jizah, and Kafr al-Shaykh. The center is undertaking the development of water control gates with funding from the United States and is also carrying out projects to fight water weeds.

The head of the research center added that the center has prepared an integrated plan to develop a complete study of ground water in Egypt and the

possibility of utilizing it. This water is estimated at some 5 billion cubic meters per year.

Irrigation Ministry Consultant Dr 'Abd-al-Hadi Radi said that the minister sent a deputation of ministry engineers to the United States for 7 months to study the training methods needed to utilize their expertise to train other ministry engineers.

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CSO: 4504/496

## BRIEFS

ARMED FORCES VOCATIONAL TRAINING--In the period 7-28 July, applications will be accepted for admission to vocational training centers in the armed forces for people who have received preparatory level diplomas, if their age is no greater than 20 next 1 October, and for admission to new classes in basic military technical schools in the case of students who have passed the tests of the sixth year of basic education, on condition that the students be no more than 15. Maj Gen 'Abd-al-Mun'im Hijab, director of the Armed Forces Vocational Training Department, declared at a press conference he held yesterday that oral and practical tests would be given to students in the vocational centers 6 months after they joined in order to determine the period of study for students, which would range from 18 to 36 months. The former category would graduate people at the rank of vocational corporal, the latter people at the rank of vocational sergeant, who would have the possibility of joining the Armed Forces Technical Institute and gradually rising after that to the officers' ranks. Students in the training centers and basic schools will be given a monthly stipend in the period of study which will range from 20 to 30 pounds a month. In another area, Maj Gen 'Abd-al-Mun'im Hijab announced that the armed forces annually offer 108,000 tradesmen and professionals to the labor market in Egypt, of whom 12,000 are in the building and construction trades, 10,000 are trained in the Corps of Engineers of the armed forces, and 9,000 are trained in the building and construction trade on the job at their worksites during their period of service in the armed forces. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 23 Jun 83 p 8]

NETHERLANDS ASSISTANCE PLAN --Eng Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, minister of redevelopment and minister of state for housing and land reclamation, signed a contract yesterday with Petrus Bawalda, the Dutch ambassador to Cairo, to study the main plan for land resources available in Egypt up to 2000. The Netherlands will provide 5.5 million florins, about \$2 million, to finance the study, which a Dutch company will be carrying out in participation with the Redevelopment and Land Reclamation Authority. The study includes a review of all land classification studies previously carried out in Egypt, covering an area of about 22 million feddans outside the cultivated lands in the Nile Valley and the study of 4 million new feddans, distributed about the various areas of the republic. The minister stated that the land would be made available for reclamation by priority on sound scientific bases. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 23 Jun 83 p 8]

# INCREASE IN 1982 AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION REPORTED

Rabat L'OPINION in French 8 Jul 83 p 3

[Article: "Nineteen Percent Increase in Agricultural Production in 1982, According to Bank of Morocco Report"]

[Text] After the poor 1981 season, during which harvests dropped 22.9 percent, national agricultural production increased 19 percent the following year despite climatic conditions which are still unfavorable owing to the delayed rainy season, indicates the Broadcasting Institute's report for Fiscal Year 1982.

While affirming agriculture's determinative place in the economy owing to the influence it exerts on domestic production, the balance of trade and public finance alike, the document emphasized that agricultural products account for a quarter of exports while the inadequacy of agricultural production is responsible for 16 percent of imports.

The national budget, the report continues, is bearing heavy burdens in order to equip the sector, particularly in hydraulics, and in order to support the prices of basic products, subsidies of which amounted to 1.2 billion dirhams in 1982. Agriculture plays an equally important social role by providing close to half of all jobs and because rural people represent 57 percent of the population.

The agricultural sector, notes the document, continues to be largely dependent on climatic hazards: close to 90 percent of total arable land is unirrigated. After the 1981 drought the authorities adopted a series of measures aimed at alleviating the farmers' burdens and assuring their supply of production equipment. Thus, it was decided to exempt the agricultural tax for Fiscal Year 1982, reschedule debts to the National Agricultural Credit Fund and to raise the prices of cereals, commercial crops and oil seeds. It was likewise decided to discontinue duties and taxes imposed on the importation of phytosanitation products and agricultural equipment. Finally, the maximum term of investment loans was raised to 20 years.

Calculated on the basis of 1969 prices, the value added of the agricultural sector reached 3.961 billion dirhams versus 3.3328 billion in 1981 and thus appears to have increased by 19 percent, states the Bank of Morocco report.



The agricultural sector's share of the gross national product rose from 10.5 percent to 11.8 percent. This improvement involved all crops with the exception, however, of citrus fruits, sugar cane, wine and stock farming.

### Cereals

The climatic conditions of the 1981-82 cereal season were characterized by delayed and inadequate rains. It was only after a hot, dry autumn that abundant precipitation was recorded in December; then, the intense heat of February and March was succeeded by rains of average intensity in April and May. In terms of regions, the East, which had been the least affected by the preceding year's drought, was not really watered until April, too late for the crops, allowing the hydraulics situation to recover. Although unusual, these atmospheric conditions had beneficial effects on the production of the four principal cereals, which rose to 47.6 million quintals instead of only 20.2 million at the end of the last season. It was possible to obtain this good result thanks to the collective labor operation launched in order to make up the delay cited by labor. This operation made possible the mobilization of close to 2,000 tractors and the sowing with cereals of some 2 million hectares or approximately one half of the land intended for cereals. Cereal harvests having experienced semi-stagnation from one season to the next, yields increased 2.4-fold to reach 11.5 quintals per hectare. This improvement involved all varieties, and the order of production of the four principal cereals still remains dominated by barley, which has a 49 percent share of the total, followed by hard wheat with 29.5 percent and soft wheat with 16.3 percent.

In order to satisfy domestic demand, national production had to be complemented by imports which were approximately 20 million quintals compared to 26.5 million a year earlier; for a value of 1.728 billion dirhams--a 27.6 percent decline.

The quantities of cereals marketed from March to December 1982 by intermediate agents approved by the National Interprofessional Office of Cereals and Legumes reached 6.7 million quintals versus 3.7 million during the corresponding period of 1981, owing, on one hand, to the increase in production and, on the other, to the increase in official prices per quintal, which rose from 135 to 140 dirhams for hard wheat and soft wheat and from 96 to 100 dirhams for barley and corn. These increases seems to have been dictated by the 30 percent rises in diesel fuel and the 15 percent increase in the guaranteed minimum agricultural wage which took place during the season.

As for the harvest of secondary cereals, it totalled 1.4 million quintals, a 72 percent increase from one year to the next. In the same way, exports of 75,600 quintals, primarily of canary grass, rose by 25 percent.

### Legumes

Despite a slight drop in land sown, the legume harvest, which benefited most from the abundant rains of early winter and spring, was 2.2 billion quintals. It thus has increased 3.3-fold from one season to the next owing to net increases in yields which went from 2.2 to 7.5 quintals per hectare. This

appreciable increase involved all types, especially peas and chickpeas, the tonnages of which were calculated at 218,000 and 509,000 quintals, respectively. In one year, the production of beans, the principal variety cultivated, went from 388,000 to 987,000 quintals, and the production of lentils, from 47,000 to 25,000 quintals, the yield having more than quadrupled.

#### Early Fruits and Vegetables

The persistence of heat until December resulted in early ripening of autumn tomatoes, which were characterized by the predominance of small sizes. Estimated at 115,000 tons, the quantities of early fruit and vegetables exported underwent a drop on the order of 3.4 percent from one year to the next. This drop was attributable mainly to a decline in shipments of potatoes, which went from 28,000 to 21,000 tons under the combined effect of the delayed harvest and the amount of domestic demand. Conversely, shipments of 90,000 tons of tomatoes abroad seem to be up 5.9 percent despite the unfavorable impact of heavy rains on the winter variety. France, and to a lesser extent, Federal Germany, remained our main customers and together absorbed more than 90 percent of shipments of early fruits and vegetables. The latter brought in return of 24.4 million dirhams, a 0.4 percent drop attributable to the decline in tonnages, the mean price having remained stable.

#### Citrus Fruit

A hot, dry autumn and heavy rains at the beginning of winter influenced the 1981-82 citrus fruit growing season and meant a considerable delay in the picking season, especially of early-ripening varieties, and inadequate increases in the size of the fruits. Under these conditions, production contracted slightly from one year to the next, dropping from 1,000,000 to 995,000 tons. These same factors, to which were added disturbance of the distribution channel by the wave of cold and frost affecting Europe since January, had the effect of curbing exports, which fell to 605,000 tons--a 12.3 percent drop. The drop involved all varieties, especially oranges, the volume of which was reduced by 13.9 percent in one year and was established at 420,000 tons. Still, the volume of small fruits was reduced from 200,000 to 181,000 tons.

The European Economic Community and the Soviet Union have again acquired between them approximately 82 percent of citrus fruit sales. The receipts of the season were valued FOB at 1.172 billion dirhams; there was little variation because of a drop in tonnages offset by a 13.5 percent increase in average prices.

The domestic market absorbed close to 80,000 tons, an 18.4 percent increase. Of the total, 98,500 tons were destined for the processing plants.

#### Commercial Crops

Total production of commercial crops rose to 2,845,000 tons--a 3.2 percent increase from one season to the next.

On an area nearly equivalent to last year's, the sugar beet harvest amounted to 2,314,000 tons, a 9.5 percent increase due to a 7.7 percent increase in yields.

On the other hand, the volume of sugar cane produced contracted by 18 percent from 509,000 tons despite a 5 percent increase in land. Therefore, yields dropped from 85.9 to 66.9 tons per hectare as a result of the inadequacy of the rains and of irrigation.

From one season to the next, the quantities of sugar extracted rose from 353,050 tons to 374,000 tons, marking a 6.1 percent increase. Sugar beets alone supplied more than 85 percent of this growth, the expansion of certain sugar refineries and the opening of the new Zemamra plant having made possible good extension of the processing season. In order to meet sugar consumption on the order of 600,000 tons, it was necessary to import 270,000 tons versus 310,000 tons in 1981, for a value of 519 million dirhams. This amount represented less than half the previous year's value, principally because of the drop in prices on the world market.

The serious water shortage of the last two years completely destroyed the cotton crop in Gharb and Haouz at the end of the 1981-82 season. The cotton picking season, however, recovered by 6.5 percent with 199,500 quintals despite the fact that it had been limited to the Tadia and Doukkala areas, yields having increased by 16.4 to 19 quintals per hectare, all things considered.

Incidentally, it is appropriate to point out that the authorities have decided to increase the prices of all commercial crops; thus the price for one ton of sugar beets rose from 150 to 155 dirhams, the price of one ton of sugar cane from 100 to 105 dirhams, and that of one quintal of cotton, from 350 to 259 dirhams.

#### Olive-Oil Industry

Benefiting from relatively favorable climatic conditions and especially the autumn heat, the 1981-82 olive growing season hit an estimated volume of 350,000 tons, a 26 percent increase, and made possible the production of 25,000 tons of oil versus 2,000 tons a year earlier.

The same holds true of initial estimates of the picking season which started at the end of the 1982 fiscal year, which value the 1982-83 olive harvest at between 450,000 and 500,000 tons, or one of the best in the past 6 years, and the amounts of oil would probably be about 45,000 tons.

#### Oilseeds

After the poor results of the last season, oilseed production of 470,000 quintals took a net leap of 77.4 percent resulting from expansion of land from 46,700 to 49,500 hectares and from a 66.7 percent increase in yields. The favorable development solely involved peanuts, the principal cultivated variety.

The peanut harvest rose from 178,000 to 407,000 quintals, a 128.8 percent increase, while that of sunflowers, with 62,800 quintals, declined by 27.9 percent because of the simultaneous drop in land and yields. Consequently, the subsidy price per quintal of this last variety was raised from 240 to 256 dirhams.

#### Viticulture

Under the effect of heatwaves and aging of the vines, wine production dropped again in 1982, hitting only 350,000 hectoliters compared to 514,000 a year earlier and 910,000 in 1980. On the other hand, exports, with 54,000 hectoliters, experienced a slight rise on the order of 5.3 percent for returns of 51.5 million dirhams, up from 7.5 percent through a recovery of prices. Concurrently, the local market absorbed 256,000 hectoliters compared to 264,000 in 1981, for a value stagnating at 28 million dirhams.

#### Stock Farming

The severe drought which struck the country during the 1980-81 season seriously affected the number of livestock, the three principal breeds of which dropped by 29 percent in 1981 and by 12.2 percent in 1982. In fact, the census taken in October-November counted close to 16.3 million head, compared to 26 million in 1980. In order to check this continued decline and to promote the replenishment of cattle, a certain number of measures were taken, including the prohibition against killing lambs and the importation of young cattle for fattening. Likewise, the Aid El Adha sacrifice was foregone again this year.

Moreover, in 1982, controlled production of red meat reached only 140,000 tons, a 9 percent drop. Conversely, poultry farming experienced a net recovery, supplying some 110,000 tons of white meat compared to only 75,000 tons one year earlier, or a 47 percent increase.

Milk production, established at close to 700 million liters, dwindled by approximately 4 percent, while the cost of imports of milk products increased by 31.2 percent, rising to 458 million dirhams for a tonnage of 42,400 tons--an 11.6 percent rise.

#### Fishing

With a double sea coast extending over some 3,500 kilometers and an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles, the potential optimal catch was estimated at 1.5 million tons. The level of catches hardly reached 3 percent of these potentials, and the quantities unloaded in 1982 did not exceed 274,000 tons, compared to approximately 400,000 tons in 1981. Moreover, exports of fresh or canned products reached a volume of 108,000 tons, a 10 percent drop, but their value stagnated at 91 million dirhams because of a price increase.

Anxious to stimulate fishing and strengthen its contribution both to the level of food and the level of exports and jobs, the State decided to entrust

to a ministry the priority task of organizing this sector and of establishing a long-term plan for its development. In this respect, many measures have been taken, among them the development of a new maritime investment code with a view to encouraging the equipment of the ports, the expansion of the refrigeration system, and the modernization of the national fleet.

9380

CSO: 4519/296

TWO IRAQIS ARRESTED IN SWEDEN FOR SPYING ON REFUGEES

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 26 Jul 83 p 6

[Article by Claes von Hofsten: "Two Iraqis Suspected of Espionage"]

[Text] Two Iraqi citizens have been arrested in Uppsala on suspicion of political espionage aimed at refugees.

The Uppsala police accidentally revealed the activity the other week. One of the arrested, a laborer, was then suspected of a variety of crimes, such as breaking and entering, fraud, theft and the receipt of stolen goods.

The police therefore searched the man's residence. The most interesting thing they found there was, however, of a completely different character than what they were searching for.

The investigation quickly took another turn and is now focused on suspected refugee espionage. Uppsala security police have been called in on the case.

Neither the police nor the chief pre-trial investigator, District Attorney Sven Ljunggren, will reveal any details about the suspected espionage activity. The hearings were held behind closed doors.

Trail to Researcher

The laborer was arrested already last week. He appealed the decision to the court of appeals, but no change was made.

The trail led from the Iraqi laborer to a researcher, working in Uppsala. Like his countryman, he denies the charges, but the district court decided at the pretrial hearings last Tuesday that he too shall remain in custody until August 22 when the legal proceedings will begin.

The man has a residence permit to Sweden for research purposes.

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CSO: 3650/263



## NAZARETH MUNICIPALITY SETS BUDGET

Haifa AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 26 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Basim Da'ud: "Nazareth Town Council Sets Development Budget for Fiscal 1983-84 At 498 Million Shekels"]

[Text] The Nazareth municipal council, in its session held last Thursday, 16 June 1983, ratified the proposed development budget for fiscal year 1983-84, amounting to 498 million shekels.

Preparation of the proposed budget was on the basis of the minimum needs demanding implementation, and which could be accomplished immediately, in the event of ratification by the Ministry of Interior and the other ministries.

The budget included in the line of credit amounted to 249 million shekels, i.e., the equivalent of half the proposed budget, while the remainder of the amounts of the proposed budget were included on the basis of participation in various organizations, certificates existing in the municipality, and expectations and donations that could be levied.

In preparing the budget, a list of priorities was taken into account concerning the following matters:

covering the deficit of budgets approved for the previous years, amounting to 9 million shekels. Of this amount, 3 million shekels is in the line of credit.

The development and paving of the main street (Bulis al-Sadis Street). The cost to complete this amounts to 21 million shekels, of which 20 million shekels is in the line of credit.

Health cases and sewage networks - 131 million shekels, 108 million shekels in the line of credit.

Replacement of water networks - 6 million shekels, 3 million in the line of credit.

Continue to extend and pave streets in the residential areas - 107 shekels, 94 million shekels in the line of credit.

Education and culture - building schools, a municipal museum and rebuild the historic 'Ayn al-'Uzara', at a cost of 170 million shekels, with 105 million shekels in the line of credit.

Vehicles and equipment - 10 million shekels, all of it in the line of credit.

Other projects costing 47 million shekels, with 12 million shekels in the line of credit.

At the same time that the council was approving the proposed development budget, the municipality received a letter from the governor of the Northern Province, Koenig, in which he said that the size of the line item for the municipality of Nazareth for fiscal year 1983-84 would not exceed 18 million shekels. The town council saw in the latter a preview of events, since it came without any examination of the proposed budget submitted in accordance with Nazareth's imperative requirements. A step such as this does not mean any real increase on the line of credit compared with last year, and it is in contradiction with the statement of the director general of the Ministry of Interior, Chaim Kubarsky, in a meeting with the local Arab authorities last year, when he promised that the Ministry of the Interior would increase the line of credit for Arab affairs for fiscal 1983-84 by 120 percent, which would be a true increase. The council also recalled the statement of the minister of finance at the end of the financial committee's deliberations in the Knesset, which was set forth in his letter to the local Arab authorities dated 7 December 1982.

The municipal council demands that these recommendations and pledges be implemented, i.e., a 120 percent increase over the development budget of last year, which would mean that the line of credit in the Nazareth budget this year would be 47 million shekels.

In response to inquiries regarding this difference between the municipality's proposal for a development budget amounting to 249 million shekels and its demand for implementation of the finance minister's recommendation, i.e. approval of a line item amounting to 47 million shekels, Engineer Ramiz Jarayisi, the acting mayor, explained that the point of departure in preparing the budget proposal was not governmental limitations, but rather, the minimum required needs for the city's development and matters which can be implemented. This is what leads to this vast gulf between the city's development needs and the budgets set by the government.

7005

CSO: 4404/503

## ARAB SECTOR COMPLAINS OF SHORTAGE OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Haifa AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 29 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Social Worker Jihad Sa'd Shafa'maru: "Arab Social Workers Number One-Sixth the General Average"]

[Text] In the beginning of the 20's, it was announced that social work was a specialized academic subject, which would later develop into a profession.

The profession of social work is aimed at helping people to fulfill their basic needs, through the assets and resources that society must provide to them. This is not the final goal; on the contrary, it is a means to achieve the mutual goal of this work along with the rest of the other academic specialities and professions.

What are the aspirations of social work?

The aspirations of social work are to insure: economic security, self-sensitivity security, social justice, social rewards, and spiritual security for the individual.

As for the mutual goal with the rest of the professions, this crystallizes in maintaining the dignity of the individual, and strengthening his intellectual and economic independence and the personality of his social and daily life. That is done through insuring the basic needs which change and vary from one society to another, from one period of time to another and from one group to another.

Concerning the role of social work in capitalist societies, it is to solve social and economic problems stemming from the economic and ethical deterioration of these societies, from the discrimination among their members and from their changing phenomena, such as the high cost of living, unemployment and poverty. These problems lead to a breakdown in society and to an increase in families needing material and moral assistance, to the spread of degeneration among the youth, subjecting them to nervous breakdowns and difficult psychological crises and diseases, and the spread of incidents of murder, suicide attempts and the like.

Nature of Social Work and Distribution

On the level of the individual, it is therapeutic work. This is characterized by giving advice to the individual, or to several individuals in the family, or to the entire family, and collectively guiding them so that they will become conscious of how to deal with society in a healthy way and adapt themselves collectively for their own best interests and happiness and the interests of their societies.

On the collective level, it helps participation in specific group activities in accordance with their mutual beliefs, ideas, sensitivities, goals and problems.

Masses' social work is to organize the citizens concerned and to help them through direction, planning and consultation to establish charitable organizations, masses' forums, and popular councils in pursuit of their work. All of this is for the purpose of improving the conditions of their lives.

Where is social work located in this country?

Social work is located in the following places:

Social services offices in local and municipal councils, where it is subject to the professional scrutiny of the Ministry of Labor and Social Betterment;

Collective offices operating in certain villages, which are totally subordinate to the Ministry of Labor and Social Betterment;

Offices of youth and elderly behavior, which are also completely subordinate to the Ministry of Labor and Social Betterment;

Hospitals;  
Factories;  
National Insurance;  
the Army;  
the Police;  
Schools;  
Leading firms-Ministry of Housing

As for the budget, it is distributed as follows: 75 percent from the ministry and 25 percent from the local and municipal councils.

In the beginning of 1982, financial assistance was transferred from the offices of social services to National Insurance. Work concentrated on treatment and social guidance, i.e., social workers returned to the path followed world-wide in their profession, i.e. social treatment and not the giving of money.

The Social Workers' Union

Social workers have an elected union, with its executive committee headquartered in Tel Aviv. It is composed of a Jewish-Arab committee (the author of this article was elected a member of it beginning this month).

One of its recent actions was opposing the multi-child families' law, which discriminates against Arab families. A committee has been formed to look into the development of social work and the number of workers who ought to be occupied with Arab citizens who are suffering discrimination in various fields, including this one. At the time the state was established, the number of Arab social workers was no more than a handful. They travelled from village to village, enduring the hardships of daily travel and difficult circumstances.

Despite the passage of many years and repeated demands to increase the number of these workers, when we compare the Arab population at the time of the establishment of the state with their number today, we cannot say that any great change has occurred in the offering of these services, except for some minor developments.

If we take into account what each citizen is entitled to in accordance with the law, Arab citizens still suffer from a considerable [condition of] backwardness, whether from the aspect of allocation of budgets or from the number of social workers. If we compare those numbers with the social workers in the Jewish sector, the picture becomes much clearer. (See the table).

#### Distribution of Social Work in the Arab Sector:

Table A

Village/City	Population in thousands	Number of Social Workers
Al-Tayyibah	20	6
Umm al-Fahm	25	3
Al-Tirah	12	3.5
The consolidated office for the villages of Jaljulyah, Kafr Qasim, Qalansuwa, Kafr Barah, and others	30	7.5
Nazareth	55	12
Shefar'am	25	3
Kafr Yasif	8	1.5
Al-Maghar	9	1.5
Al-Ramah	8	1.5
Al-Tamrah	18	3.5
Majd al-Karum	6	.5
Lydda	--	1
Yafo/Tel Aviv	18	2
Haifa and its villages (Asfiya and al-Daliyah)	40	6
The Negev	54	3
Consolidated office for the villages of Galilee: Dayr Hanna, Sakhniyn, Arabah, Sha'b, Kabul, Kaukab, Ibillin, Suwa'id, Julis, Yirka, Abu Sinan, Dayr al-Asad, Al-Bi'nah, Nahf, al-Baqi'yah		

Table A (continued)  
Village/City

Population  
in thousands      Number of  
Social Workers

Bayt Jann, Kasra, Jat, Kafr Sami', Yanuh, and others	90	14
Consolidated office for the villages of Nazareth: al-Reina, Kafr Kunna, al-Mashhad, Tur'an, 'Aylabun, al-Ba'inah, Iksal	80	11

As regards observers of youth behavior, among the 150 youth officers (all of whom are social workers) in the country, only 20 of them are in the Arab sector, and no more than 10 of the 100 observers of elderly behavior in the country are in the Arab sector.

#### Masses' Social Workers

In the Arab sector, there is only one masses' social worker in Nazareth and one-half a position in Tamrah. Concerning those in hospitals, there are two (Nahariya and Rothschild-Haifa), while in National Security, there are eight [as published] (Haifa, Nazareth, Jerusalem and Nahariya).

Therefore, the number of Arab social workers in Israel does not exceed 115 persons, of whom approximately 90 work in the municipalities and local councils. The percentage of Arab social workers compared with the population is therefore as follows: one worker for every 10,000 citizens in Galilee and part of the triangle and grazing areas, and one worker for every 6000 citizens in the other areas.

The evidence for the extent of discrimination against the Arabs can be seen in the fact that the general percentage in the country is one worker for every 1000 citizens.

We can offer further evidence through the following examples in the Jewish sector (see table):

Table B

Town	Population in thousands	Number of Social Workers
Kaffar Yona	4.5	4
Oiryat Shemond	14	24
Or Yehuda	21	20
Regional Council:		
"Merom Hagalil"	18	12
Nazerat 'Illit	25	14
Beersheba	140	200

Therefore, we find that while there are 200 social workers in Beersheba, which has a population of 140,000, we find that in the Nazareth area,



which has a similar population, there are not more than 23 social workers.

It is worth noting that there are numerous Arab university students who have studied this subject in their university, but they are unemployed today, which proves that there is a shortage not in the cadres, but rather in the program and policy of the ministry.

We should also mention the fact that there are 30 Arab students currently studying social work in the universities, while there are 16 others in the Institute for Social Affairs, subordinate to the ministry. This year, 18 of them will graduate, but there is no guarantee that they will find work in their specialty.

7005

CSO: 4404/503

# IMPLICATIONS OF LACK OF EFFECTIVE U.S. SUPPORT ANALYZED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 7 Aug 83 p 7

Article: "The Future of Lebanon Becomes a Factor in the U.S. Presidential Elections; the Greater Republic of Beirut and the Small [State of] Lebanon"

Text. All levels and factions within Lebanese circles are still preoccupied with the visit that Lebanon's presidential delegation made to the United States and with the developments that followed that visit. Although there have been many intricate questions preceding and following the visit, these circles were primarily preoccupied with one question which was almost the only question on their minds.

This is the question: Have all the objectives of the president's visit been realized? Were the required guarantees obtained from President Reagan and from his task force [on Lebanon]? If all the objectives of the visit were not achieved, what is Lebanon's position toward the United States, and what alternatives is Lebanon contemplating [at this time]?

In the parliamentary debate that took place in the Chamber of Deputies, which was attended by Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Elie Hleil--both men were members of the presidential delegation that visited the United States during the latter third of last month--most deputies felt that the presidential visit did not accomplish all its objectives. They felt it did not even accomplish some of them. [The deputies felt] it was imperative that the Lebanese government inform public opinion in Lebanon about the new steps it was contemplating and about the alternatives that may be available to help it get the foreign troops out of Lebanese territory.

Frustration: Partition and Annexation of South Lebanon

A group of deputies attributed their sense of frustration to the fact that the regime and the government of Lebanon have continued to depend on U.S. assistance. They also attributed their frustration to the statements that were made by Reagan after his talks with Israel's ministers of foreign affairs and defense. Those statements and positions supported the decision of the Israeli government to re-deploy its troops in Lebanon.

The deputies stated that the fact that the U.S. president approved Israel's decision meant that he was approving the partition of Lebanon. Before his talks with

the two Israeli ministers President Reagan had declared that the failure to withdraw foreign troops from Lebanon posed a threat that Lebanon would be partitioned. This is something the United States cannot accept because it is inconsistent with its policy which supports and backs the unity and sovereignty of Lebanon over all its territory.

The deputies also said that Israel not only ignored Lebanon's rejection of the decision for partial withdrawal, but it also went ahead and took a series of measures, even before its ministers of foreign affairs and defense were summoned to Washington. These measures gave the impression that Israel's partial withdrawal was not as it claimed a security precaution to check operations against Israeli soldiers carried out by Lebanon's National Resistance, or an interim geographical operation that would be followed by other subsequent withdrawals. These measures rather gave the impression that they were part of a clearly defined plan to annex south Lebanon and extend Israel's international borders temporarily or permanently.

The deputies wondered if the United States might be unaware of these facts. Even if that were the case--and that is not the case--President Reagan's positive position on the decision for partial withdrawal cannot be justified. Israel would never take such an important and significant step without obtaining the approval or consent of the United States. Furthermore, the magnitude of the U.S. presence in Lebanon presumes that the United States would have accurate information about all the specific steps that Israel took or intends to take in Lebanon.

#### Is There a New U.S. Deal in the Middle East?

Other deputies said that developments in Lebanon that followed the visit of Lebanon's presidential delegation to the United States led them to believe more than any other time in the past that the U.S. administration was making plans for a new deal in the Middle East region at Lebanon's expense. Otherwise, what would be the significance of President Reagan's approval of a partial Israeli withdrawal despite, on the one hand, Lebanon's opposition to it and despite his conviction, on the other hand, that if such a withdrawal were to occur, it would lead to the partitioning of Lebanon?

In view of these developments the deputies asked the Lebanese government to offer a clear explanation of the action taken by the United States. If the government determines that the U.S. government acted in collusion with Israel at Lebanon's expense, what then would be the steps Lebanon's government would take to correct the U.S.-Israeli collusion and prevent it from becoming a material fact? If the government finds the opposite, what guarantees did the presidential Lebanese delegation obtain from President Reagan and his administration to effect the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon?

#### The Greater Republic of Beirut and the Small [State] of Lebanon

The deputies said that these explanations would come in the context of information relayed by some western diplomatic circles about the purpose of the U.S. envoy's visit to the region. U.S. presidential envoy, Robert Macfarlane and his task force came to the area to effect a disengagement between Syrian and Israeli troops in the Biqa' and enable the Lebanese army to go into Mount Lebanon,

thereby expanding the territory of "the Greater Republic of Beirut" so that it would include the borders of the small [state] of Lebanon, that is Mount Lebanon.

This information that was revealed by the deputies was accompanied by other information which stated that Macfarlane concentrated on these two points in his talks with the Lebanese in the course of three meetings he held before leaving the Lebanese capital to complete his fact-finding mission. Macfarlane did not broach the matter of full withdrawal since, according to this information, that would come at a later stage.

This information stated that the Lebanese were disappointed when they heard the U.S. envoy's point of view. The Lebanese thought that their talks with Macfarlane would complement the talks which the presidential delegation had conducted in Washington, particularly with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. These talks had focused on the particulars of a U.S.-Lebanese plan to bring about the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon.

On that basis officials in Lebanon are assuming that U.S. action toward the region may have been based on a specific agenda, at the forefront of which are the following concerns:

- The outcome of the Lebanese-U.S. talks and how that outcome can be translated into action.

- Israel's attitude toward the troop withdrawals in the light of new developments, among which is the decision for partial withdrawal and how that partial withdrawal can be turned into an interim withdrawal as part of a programmed plan.

- The Syrian position: how it can be dealt with by the United States and the extent of Israeli compliance.

#### Will Washington Contain Israel's Initiative?

It may be concluded from a discussion of this agenda that Israel's decision to effect a partial withdrawal from Lebanon and the steps that accompanied that decision--these steps actually began with the rounding up of troops and taking a series of security measures affecting the south in particular--do not mean that all this took place with the tacit or stated approval of the United States. This will rather make the United States take the required prompt action to contain Israel's initiative and deal with it in the light of those principles that govern U.S. action at this stage.

If U.S. policy in the region is prepared now for a new political and practical initiative, after the agreement of last 17 May and the ensuing inertia that came over the settlement efforts of the U.S. administration, what is evident so far is that President Reagan has taken direct charge of the crisis and has promised to solve it. This means that there is no longer a broad margin of flexibility in the U.S. action toward Israel's disruptive actions.

The promises Reagan made to Lebanon's presidential delegation and the promises he relayed through his envoy Robert Macfarlane must contain a minimum of U.S. commitments to Lebanon so that the new U.S. crew, whose reputation for effectiveness preceded them to the region, can succeed.

The Lebanese assume that these promises or commitments lack credibility unless new stock is taken of Israel with Begin's government on the basis of the following priorities:

--The plan for partial withdrawal that was announced by the government of Israel is to be contained to make it possible to avoid a confrontation with the Lebanese army in Mount Lebanon. The possible consequences of that would be a unilateral implementation of the partial withdrawal which would be tied to a time schedule for a full Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. That is, the agreement between Lebanon and Israel would be enforced apart from the Syrian position toward that agreement. This means that action would be suspended on the marginal Israeli mission that linked between the Israeli and Syrian withdrawals from Lebanon.

--The terms of the U.S.-Syrian dialogue are to be facilitated on the basis of the first two conditions and the mutually positive indications between Damascus and Washington that preceded them.

--The new U.S. action is to be given sufficient time away from the immediate pressures of security considerations, particularly from the Israeli side.

Does Reagan Have an Interest in Solving the Crisis in Lebanon?

There was a discussion in this regard with a prominent figure who had accompanied Lebanon's president on his visit to Washington. That individual took part in all the meetings held by both sides.

That figure said, "There has been so much talk about the United States' commitment to Lebanon, that that commitment has lost or almost lost its meaning. Therefore, the U.S. position toward Lebanon must be placed in a new framework stemming from the following question: Does Reagan have an interest in solving the crisis in Lebanon?"

Before giving a yes or no answer to that question, it is worth noting that every American who becomes president devises for himself a domestic and an international plan of action that would guarantee his re-election or the re-election of his party if he decides not to run for a second term as president.

As far as President Reagan is concerned, he seems to be determined to run for re-election. Even if he were to change his mind at the last moment, President Reagan is known for being very loyal to his party. Accordingly, he would be concerned about his party remaining in power in the United States.

Before winning the presidential elections President Reagan had set for himself [several] objectives, and Lebanon was among them. However, after he came to power [the number of] these objectives dropped to eight. Recently, there was a new evaluation of President Reagan's policy to determine the objectives that his policy must focus on in the second half of his term in office to ensure his re-election or the re-election of his party to a second term in office. As a result of that evaluation the [number of] objectives dropped from eight to three. They are:

--The crisis in Central America.

—Limiting nuclear weapons.

—The crisis in Lebanon.

#### Effective U.S. Decision

During the evaluation period Lebanese diplomacy became engaged in vigorous continuous negotiations and held intense meetings with President Reagan's task force. In view of the shrinking [list of] U.S. concerns, Lebanese diplomacy was able to place Lebanon first on a scale of three U.S. priorities. Evidence for this lies in the removal of Philip Habib and the appointment of Robert Macfarlane, the assistant to President Reagan's national security adviser. This means that the question of Lebanon was moved out of the State Department and brought into the White House, and it was placed directly under the supervision of President Reagan.

What does this mean?

Optimistic explanations indicate that this means that the U.S. decision to solve the crisis in Lebanon was now an effective decision that may be neither questioned nor doubted for the following reasons:

First, because the U.S. administration addressed its choices and chose to solve the crisis in Lebanon during the time that is left in President Reagan's term.

Second, to assure itself that its choices will be implemented, the U.S. administration moved [its task force on Lebanon] out of the State Department to the White House since these are national and electoral concerns.

Third, when these concerns become those of the nation and of the electorate, the National Security Council and the president's campaign staff will deal with them.

#### Lebanon's Future Becomes a Factor in U.S. Presidential Elections

And here some people may wonder--questions like that are actually being raised--about the significance of Macfarlane taking over the [responsibility for the] Lebanese question.

The answer to that question is that what is even more significant than the fact that Lebanon has become a matter of U.S. national concern subject to decisions by the electorate is the fact that Macfarlane, because of his position in the White House, has access to all the files in the U.S. administration and has the right to communicate directly with President Reagan.

What is even more significant than all this is the fact that Macfarlane did not come to Lebanon on a fact-finding mission as Habib used to do, but he has rather taken up residence in Lebanon. From that perspective Macfarlane would be staying in Lebanon until the crisis is solved. In that regard his work is not that of conducting negotiations with Lebanon's team; Lebanon's team is rather part of the same task force Macfarlane is working with. Any action Macfarlane takes will be part and parcel of Lebanon's action.

The prominent personality went on to add, "It is being said that Macfarlane came



to Lebanon to cover up the U.S. failure to find a settlement for the crisis in Lebanon. He would do that by solving the question of Mount Lebanon and effecting a disengagement between Syria's and Israel's troops. It is also said that Macfarlane came to Lebanon to cover up the partial Israeli withdrawals that the U.S. government has agreed to. The truth, however, is otherwise.

"Macfarlane did not come to Lebanon to cover up the U.S. failure by solving the problem of Mount Lebanon, effecting the disengagement of troops and bringing about the partial withdrawals. He did not come to Lebanon to discuss that subject with Lebanese officials. Discussion of such matters, particularly that of partial withdrawals, is not permitted, nor is it [on the agenda]. Lebanon has definitely rejected the word partial in its talks with Macfarlane. This means there are to be no partial withdrawals because Israel cannot carry out a decision without U.S. approval, and such approval does not exist."

#### Covering Up Failure or Preparing for a New War?

"Therefore," said the prominent personality, "the strategy of the U.S.-Lebanese task force at this stage centers around removing the obstacles that are impeding the total withdrawal of troops. The broad lines for those withdrawals were drawn in Washington. In other words, the task force is to remove the obstacle of the Syrian withdrawal, which resulted from the agreement between Lebanon and Syria, and it is to solve the problem of Israel's withdrawal, which is the result of Syria's refusal to withdraw."

The prominent personality said, "After all these details were presented and discussed, some people portrayed the visit to Washington as a failure and implied that the United States had given up its commitments to Lebanon to appease Begin's government and to look after its own interests in the Middle East. However, the next few weeks will show exactly the opposite."

Except for the affirmation made by the prominent personality that the presidential visit to Washington was a success because it affirmed the commitment of the U.S. administration to solve the crisis in Lebanon and also because it placed the crisis high among the priorities of the U.S. administration, the indicators that accompanied Macfarlane's visit to the area all pointed elsewhere: they all pointed to a direction against the government of Lebanon. This tends to support the fears voiced by deputies and political circles, particularly since Syria's attitude when it received the U.S. presidential envoy lends credence to the fact that the purpose of Macfarlane's mission is either to cover up the U.S. failure or to prepare for a new war in the region.

3592

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TRADE RELATIONS WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 324, 7 May 83 pp 53-54

[Article: "Where and How Does Development of Lebanese Exports Start; National Council for Foreign Relations Tries To Encourage Lebanese Exports to Outside World by Again Encouraging Free Exchange With Socialist Countries"]

[Text] On the 26th of last April, a trade agreement was signed between Lebanon and Romania restoring to the two countries a new form of the "clearing" system by which Lebanon had been tied to the socialist countries from the 1960's to the mid-1970's.

Before discussing the provisions of the new agreement, [it is to be noted that] it is still impossible to know who was behind the cancellation of the clearing agreements concluded between Lebanon and Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. That cancellation, which took place improvisationally and offhandedly, is disavowed by all sides. The Ministry of Economy disavows it and so does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Higher Customs Council. Regardless of who the "perpetrator" was, those behind cancellation of the clearing agreements were a handful of industrialists who had abandoned industry to become the representatives of factories in the socialist countries and who wanted the field to be open for them to import through the free-payment system and unhindered by any provisions binding the [exporting] state to import certain quantities of Lebanese goods.

Agreements with the socialist countries were started nearly 4 years ago, and these agreements came to replace the "clearing" agreements and were "hailed and lauded" because the best thing in them was the absence of provisions stipulating the purchase [by the country or countries with which such agreements were concluded] of the equivalent of \$5 million worth of Lebanese apples or citrus fruits at international prices.

When industry recently encountered its crisis, voices rose demanding a return to the "clearing" system and wondering about the circles that canceled the previous agreements. Even those who had contributed to canceling the "clearing" system have demanded its revival.

What is important in the issue is that at the beginning of this year, when it faced a crisis in marketing its apples and citrus fruits, Lebanon turned to

the socialist countries to ask them to import the quantities stipulated informally in the free agreements. But the socialist countries refused because the text is not binding and because the price of Lebanese agricultural products is very high compared with international prices. Lebanon thus forced a dilemma in exporting its fruit until Bulgaria was convinced 2 months ago to purchase 3,000 tons of citrus fruits.

As a result of the failure of the free agreements in their first test, the demand for reviving the "clearing" agreements escalated and the National Council for Foreign Economic Relations, which is the group fundamentally concerned with trade agreements, launched its efforts with the socialist countries to revive the "clearing" system on the following grounds:

The state, approaching reconstruction, will be a primary importer for several years to come and it needs equipment and machinery for its public utilities and its infrastructure projects and plans to import these needs from the industrial countries. But these imports must be countered by the export of some Lebanese agricultural or industrial products.

The first step was taken last 26 April when an agreement was concluded with Romania stipulating the exportation of Lebanese goods valued at \$7 million in return for the importation of Romanian goods valued at \$20 million, in addition to the free trade that could take place beyond the framework of the agreement.

The agreement was crowned with Romania's purchase of 8,000 tons of citrus fruit (oranges, lemons and grapefruits) valued at \$3 million.

The National Council plans to conclude similar agreements with the other socialist countries so that the situation may gradually return to what it was in the mid-1960's.

The fact is that the goal sought by Sami Marun, chairman of the National Council for Foreign Economic Relations, through the conclusion of these or other agreements is to encourage Lebanese exports to the outside world and to open new or supporting markets for these exports.

This goal seems to be urgent, considering Lebanese industry's need for attention after 8 years of accumulated crises.

There are those who believe that what is behind this goal is the desire to free Lebanese industry from the sphere of the traditional Arab markets and to release it from the nightmares and economic and noneconomic pressures of these markets. These people believe that the goal may be a long-range goal sought in stages on the basis of the current political and economic circumstances being experienced by Lebanon.

But other people believe that it is necessary to avoid going too far in this direction and to distinguish between the demand for the diversification of markets in order to reduce risks and the demand for the abolishment of one market and the search for an alternative market.

Whatever the goal and its motives, any discussion on the development of industrial exports must be founded on a discussion concerning development of the industry itself. If there is no industry qualified to export, then it would be futile to seek markets in Europe and elsewhere, even Arab markets.

This fact surfaced clearly during the negotiations that preceded the agreement with Romania. A review was conducted with a number of industrialists in an attempt to determine and classify some industrial products as exportable goods. But the attempt produced no positive results because it was impossible to find goods for which there is no equivalent in Romania. Despite the supplements attached to it, the agreement ended ultimately in the export of agricultural produce, and it is most likely that only agricultural products will be exported.

Any other agreement, especially with European countries, will confront this reality, namely, the availability of only a small number of commodities that can be exported and that can meet the needs of the countries concerned.

Despite the importance of the council's resolve to conclude trade agreements from the standpoint of the state and despite its determination to establish a minimum degree of equality in trade exchange, this step must be preceded by several other steps, the most important of which we cite as follows:

1. Developing industry: The first step toward developing industrial exports is to develop industry itself. This requires a complete industrial plan that takes into consideration the country's capabilities, resources and industrial infrastructure and also takes into account the given facts of the local market and neighboring markets, which are difficult to overlook, at least in the initial phase. There is no doubt that all industrialists want a plan that goes beyond the financial aspect pertaining to facilities and exemptions to the guided developmental aspect seeking to determine the Lebanese industry's identity and to formulate the precise frameworks for its capabilities.
2. Studying markets: Formulation of the industrial development plan must be coupled with a study of export markets because marketing is a fundamental part of the industrialization process. Individuals may not be able to study markets, except within narrow limits, because markets require specialized agencies capable of studying them realistically and for future potential and of observing developments that may crop up in these markets.

There is no doubt that familiarity with the needs of the markets concerned and studying the programs of their states helps to guide and streamline local industry and enable it to keep pace with the times. A commodity that was acceptable 10 years ago is not necessarily attractive now.

3. Surveys and statistics: After this and that, a comprehensive industrial survey must be conducted in Lebanon--a survey that provides officials with a detailed industrial map demonstrating the volume and types of production, the capacity of each kind of production, the number of establishments and the number of workers in each establishment. Such a survey will make it possible to determine the priorities and to tender the Lebanese negotiator capable, upon conclusion of any trade agreement, of negotiating and capable of formulating a framework that meets requirements.

It seems that the National Council for Foreign Economic Relations is aware of these basic principles and is preparing to implement them by virtue of its role and the tasks entrusted to it.

Through this role, the council seeks to:

1. Set up a network of trade offices in the main world capitals to study the needs of the markets in which these offices exist and to supply the council with these studies. These offices will also seek to establish relations for Lebanese exporters to facilitate their marketing activities.
2. Devote attention to the issue of internal or external investments by devoting attention to the Lebanese presence abroad--a presence that can play the role of middleman.
3. Devote practical attention to the means of advertising, through local international fairs, through participation in world fairs or through the preparation and dissemination of pamphlets and books.

On the other hand, it seems that the Ministry of Industry and Oil has begun to prepare for the industrial plan that is to be initiated along with the industrial survey plan that is to be conducted in cooperation with the EEC. The survey project has been assigned to a private firm--an assignment that will insure the plan a certain degree of success, considering that the official agencies are incapable of undertaking this precise technical effort. There is no doubt that when completed, the industrial survey will constitute a sound starting point for industrial planning because it will provide sufficient facts and will eliminate the system of estimating, improvising and guessing on which the Lebanese administration has relied for years.

The National Council for Foreign Economic Relations, in coordination with the departments concerned, seems to be so determined to devote to industry the attention it merits that its aspirations have reached the extent of setting up a Lebanese establishment to guarantee exports similar to the French COFACE and the West German HERMES establishments. The council has daring and ambitious ideas in this regard. But what is required is to know where to start and what succession of steps to follow.

8.2.

Doc: 4414/435

ASPECTS OF RESISTANCE TO FOREIGN OCCUPIERS EXAMINED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 27 Jun 83 p 2

[Editorial by Sarkis Na'um: "Heating Ground Under Feet of All"]

[Text] A few weeks ago, the regime received advice from a number of people engaged in public affairs urging it to "heat the ground" under the feet of the "foreign armies" present in Lebanon to make it easier to convince them of the need to withdraw from Lebanon. Justifying their advice, these people cited numerous examples from several other countries. While Egypt was negotiating with Israel, the Egyptian special forces were carrying out certain operations against the Israeli Army in the Sinai. The Israeli Government immediately understood the meaning of those operations. The U.S.-Vietnamese negotiations were constantly coupled with a heated atmosphere on the ground. This situation continued for years until it ended with the well-known outcome. In the view of the advisers, this heating up would be costly to the camp wanted out of Lebanon, especially if it is launched on the instruction of a legitimate regime and under the canopy of popular fear for the homeland's destiny and future, as is now the case in Lebanon. Armies, no matter how capable and prepared they are and how much confidence their people have in them, cannot stand fast in the face of large-scale operations against them, especially if such operations evoke strong public opinion and political reactions in their countries. The logical outcome of all this cannot be an easy relinquishment, according to the advisers, but will inevitably be a relinquishment, even if accompanied by conditions, postures and accords.

Is this advice valid? And is it still possible to benefit from it?

No sincere and true patriot can stand against such advice. Occupation is rejected and abhorred and must be eliminated with all means and methods. The Lebanese regime, with the broad support of some Lebanese and with no objection from others, and with consideration given to the objections of a limited group, chose to end the occupation through negotiations. It carried out its choice and reached an accord with Israel to end the state of war and to evacuate the forces. At present, Lebanon is trying with all its might to implement this accord. As for the Syrians, the regime has also opted to negotiate with officials in Damascus to remove the Syrian military presence. It started superficial negotiations with Damascus even before the conclusion of its negotiations with Israel and then tried to fully focus on these negotiations upon the



conclusion of those negotiations. But Syria's stand has not encouraged the regime. However, there are still active efforts to resume the dialogue and begin the negotiation. In this situation, Lebanon cannot but resort to the method of heating things up to force the alien presences to withdraw for numerous reasons, the most prominent being:

1. The accord concluded with Israel means, at least theoretically, that an understanding has been reached between Israel and Lebanon on all issues, including withdrawal. This legal reality does not permit Lebanon to heat the ground under the feet of Israel's troops because Israel is ready to fulfill what it has signed, because the complications in this respect stem from others and because any action of the sort will be considered by Israel, and the United States along with it, a violation of the accord--a violation that would expose the country to problems and setbacks that are a lot more serious than the ones it is now experiencing.

2. The entire Lebanese people want all foreign armies present on their territory to withdraw because they have suffered heavily from the presence of these armies. But this wish has not been crystallized in a singular way or in a single formula among all the groups that form this public. There is a faction that does not consider Israel an enemy and that considers its intervention last June beneficial, even though deficient, and this faction is not prepared to carry arms against it. There is a faction that considers that Israel and Lebanon are tied by an accord waiting to be implemented and that believes that there is no call for any action against Israel before all the efforts being exerted for implementation are exhausted. There is a faction that rejects the accord with Israel and calls for resisting Israel politically and militarily. This faction refuses to deal with Syria in a manner similar to dealing with Israel, considering that Syria is a sister and an ally. There is a faction interested in Israel's departure, but at the same time, it does not try to facilitate this departure through political positions, keeping in mind that its positions are impossible at this level because this faction wants in return for the desired stands internal rights and demands that will be impossible to meet after Lebanon has been liberated from every non-Lebanese presence. The same goes for the Syrian and Palestinian presence. Some people believe that the heating up should be aimed against the Syrian and Palestinian presence before others, and so forth. This situation has led to the emergence of an organized resistance by some against Israel--resistance supported strongly by Syria and the Palestinians--and to haphazard, disorganized and circumstantial operations against the Syrian and Palestinian forces. These operations are dictated by the reality under which people live in the areas where these forces are present, not by the logic of resistance to eliminate the occupation.

However, this does not mean that the advice to "heat things up," which will inevitably lead to resistance, is a failure. This advice, in the view of many, remains valid, especially if the accord concluded with Israel fails for various reasons and if Israel remains with the other armies on Lebanon's soil. The heating up will then become a duty, and so will resistance against all, especially since such resistance is likely to establish a real bridge among the Lebanese, thus releasing their patriotic and national affairs from the captivity of fanatical sectarian viewpoints and narrow factional tendencies.

CONDITIONS IN SOUTH UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION DESCRIBED

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[Article by 'Imad Jawdiyah: "Lebanese West Bank; After 54 Weeks of Occupation, What Is Happening from Al-Naqurah to Sidon"]

[Text] Israelis are restoring Jewish Religious Places in Sidon, Harassing Sidon's People To Prevent Them From Expressing Their Politican Opinion or Gathering in Public Squares; Israelis Are Ringing Sidon With Fortified Bunkers and Earthen Walls, Building Shacks and Tents on Roofs of Its Buildings and Blockading Its Quarters Daily to Check Out Inhabitants; in al-Nabatiyah, Israelis Storm Homes Nightly, Terrorizing Women and Children and Arresting Youths and Men to Drive Them to Ansar Camp; Dr Nazih al-Bizri: "We Will Fight Occupation If It Doesn't Leave Our Land"; Ahmad Kalash: "There Are 100 Families in Sidon Suffering From Starvation and Destitution Under Israeli Occupation"; 'Ali al-Sharif: "Sidon Merchants Are Strangled Economically Because of Israeli Competition and Security Cordon Imposed on City"; Bishop Haddad: "We Reject Suppression, Humiliation and Arrests; Israelis Must Withdraw Before Southerners Rise in Their Face;" Governor of al-Nabatiyah: "We Exert Efforts To Provide All Services to Citizens Within Available Resources."

One year after the Israeli invasion, the Israeli assault on the southern soil is being renewed in its ugliest, most tyrannical and most terroristic form. This assault crowns a phase abounding with struggle between the faithful, patient and steadfast southerner and the enemy, who began his stay by demolishing homes over the heads of their occupants and who is now exploiting his occupation of the land to impose on its inhabitants a new reality in relationships and dealings.

But the southern reply has come after a year to constitute another slap in the face of the despised enemy, who disavows the simplest values of freedom and dignity. Here the southerners are now rewriting their heroic history and fighting desperately in defense of the soil and the inhabitants of the south.

On the 6th of ill-fated June, anniversary of the Israeli invasion, southern leaders, citizens, merchants, farmers, women and men marched forth to declare

to the enemy entrenched on their land that they will not accept the fait accompli, that they will not adapt to life with the enemy and that the land of the south will only belong to the southerners. As for the enemy, he resorted to arms, arresting whomever he wanted, threatening whomever he wanted and deporting whomever he wanted. But all this did no more than intensify the southerners' determination to remain steadfast, not only in the face of the detestable Israeli military machine but also in the face of the colonialist assault launched by Israel so that it might remain in the south and steal its water and land on the pretext that others refuse to depart from Lebanon.

During the first week of the second year of the Israeli occupation, the enemy lost more than 20 soldiers killed and wounded and his government was struck with panic and was thus compelled to hold a plenary meeting to discuss the question of withdrawal from Lebanon or to confront the fedayeen action, which has inflicted grave losses on the enemy, as the enemy himself has acknowledged. At the meeting, a number of ministers proposed a partial withdrawal to a more secure area. But Menachem Begin had no such intention "because withdrawal now harms Israel's military reputation. Therefore, I propose that we stay where we are in Lebanon, despite the losses being suffered by the defense army there." Later, an Israeli spokesman admitted that the number of Israeli soldiers killed since entering Lebanon totals 500.

Between Beirut, the capital, and southern Lebanon's cities and villages lies the distance of the accumulated times and the changing faces of the Lebanese crisis--a distance the Lebanese citizen pays for in blood, livelihood and peace of mind. Today, as in the past, the southerner does not ask you for food or shelter. He asks you about freedom, the sovereign homeland and reassurance. The innocent lips ask: When will the chain of international suffering on our land end, and when will they stop treating this suffering with verbal sedatives?

AL-MUSTAQBAL has visited Sidon, Tyre, al-Nabatiyah and the Palestinian camps and has interviewed all the popular, religious, economic, political and official leaders in the three southern cities and in the camps. It has also familiarized itself with the true nature of the southerner's suffering under the Israeli occupation after 1 year of its presence on the southerner's land.

#### Wounded Sidon

At the entrance to the city, there is a roadblock set up by the Free Lebanon Army, which is controlled by Maj Sa'd Haddad, to examine identity cards and inspection vehicles. Like the others waiting, we were subjected to the inspection and then proceeded on our way to the heart of the "capital of the south," which a year ago was suffering death as a result of the military and supply blockade imposed on it by the Israelis and from the destruction and damage inflicted on its buildings by the land, sea and air bombardment which Israel resorted to in the most ugly, barbaric and inhuman methods.

We entered the city and began to tour its quarters. Sidon appeared quiet and life and activity were almost normal. Its sidewalk cafes were almost free of their usual crowds. Not all businesses have opened yet. The main square has lost the service stands from which people used to be transported

from the southern towns and villages to Sidon and back. The fishermen's pier in al-Mina' Quarter is still the same, with one-half demolished and the other half awaiting repairs. The beach cafes have not opened their doors to fishermen and fishmongers who used to pass their time at the port a year ago. The fishing boats are scattered around the port and along the pier. Khan al-Ifranj [French market], the port's neighbor with the historical reputation, is the only thing that still stands and that has not been destroyed by the war.

At the gate to the market sits an old inhabitant of Sidon in his eighties. We asked him about the conditions of the city and its inhabitants but got no answer. He just looked at us and shook his head. We continued our tour of the city, with news of the storming operations and the arrest campaigns launched by the occupation forces against its inner quarters accompanying us. In one of the city's narrow alleys, we met a group of people sitting in a small popular coffee shop. We approached and asked them about conditions in the city. One of them said that the Israeli forces for some time turned Sidon over to elements of the "National Guard," which these forces have formed in some areas under their control.

The Israeli military command has divided the city into four sections:

Old Sidon, al-Ta'mir [Reconstruction] and al-Villat [villas].

Rijal al-Arba'in-al-Bawwabah al-Fawqa.

Bahr al-Mir-Maksar al-'Abd.

Ka'b al-Sakhr-al-Wastani.

These sections were handed over to four groups of the "National Guard," each group commanded by an "agent" appointed by the Israeli command and given charge of security in the sector.

Another Sidon inhabitant sitting at a table close to the first one told AL-MUSTAQBAL: "For nearly 2 weeks now, every night the Israeli forces have persistently blockaded the entrances to the streets and the subsidiary and the internal quarters, using military vehicles, and have stormed homes, arresting the young men found in them and taking them to the military governor's headquarters at the Sidon Government House where they are made an offer to cooperate with these forces. Those who refuse are taken to Ansar Camp or asked to leave the area for Beirut or al-Biqa'."

A third youth said: "One-fourth of the city youths are in Ansar Camp because they refuse to cooperate with the occupation and demand legitimacy. The Israelis have not been content with this but send into the streets of our cities military patrols wearing civilian clothes to look for suspected or wanted people."

He added: "What the Israelis are doing in the city of Sidon and in the other parts of the south does not indicate that they will withdraw from our land. They have begun to restore the Jewish religious places in the city, namely,

the Jewish cemetery, the synagogue, the Jewish Quarter in old Sidon and the tombs of the Jewish prophets or holy men, as they call them, including the tomb of Zilun ban Ya'qub, which we in Sidon call the tomb of prophet Saydun."

#### Al-Bizri: We Will Resist Occupation

From the small coffee shop, we headed for the residence of Dr Nazih al-Bizri, member of the Chamber of Deputies representing Sidon. His residence is besieged by city inhabitants who have come to inquire about the fate of their children and the men who have been arrested by the Israelis. He welcomed us amidst the masses and we sat with him in a separate salon and had the following dialogue:

[Question] The arrest and inspection campaigns have escalated in Sidon recently. In your capacity as city deputy, how do you cope with this and how would you assess the impact of the Israeli invasion on the city from all aspects?

[Answer] The Israeli presence in Sidon--a presence that has come as a result of the aggression against and occupation of Lebanese territory, including the south, has had the worst impact economically, socially and politically. Socially, the citizens of Sidon live in constant fear. The spectre of having their children arrested, their homes raided and their lives and property attacked has caused them to be ever cautious and has governed a great part of their social activity. They are now content with minimal social activity in the morning. In the afternoon, they take refuge in their homes in order to avoid being humiliated and for fear of being subjected to repeated attacks.

This social condition under which Sidon citizens live has to a large extent paralyzed their economic activity. This paralysis has been further intensified by the curfew that is imposed from time to time and by the raids and arrests. Add to this the fact that travel between Sidon and the adjacent towns, villages and hamlets has become very difficult because of the arrests, detention and killings that go on. The goods transported by the many trucks that carry the produce of Sidon and of the adjacent areas are often damaged because of the long wait they have to undergo at roadblocks. Often these trucks are prevented from continuing toward their destination. The same applies to the Lebanese goods coming from Beirut. The lack of movement of persons from and into Sidon has denied the city financial revenue that it used to collect for the public services it rendered to the various citizens in the south, in western al-Biqa', in al-Shuf and in 'Alayh. The Mount Lebanon events have further obstructed movement to Sidon. Moreover, the movement of persons has become so difficult that people prefer not to travel by car in order to avoid the humiliation to which they are subjected at the numerous roadblocks between Sidon and Beirut and Sidon and the south. The entry of Israeli goods has also created an imbalance between the locally produced and legally imported goods and the goods entering without any checks or controls. These goods have absorbed the financial surplus that the Sidon inhabitants had and that could have grown through the exchange of local goods or Lebanese goods.



As for the political suffering, the occupying army and its followers are preventing the expression of political opinion on the fateful issues and are obstructing public meetings for the exchange of views. The Sidonites' freedom of expression is subjected to pressure, even though I do publish from time to time their feelings and their thoughts.

[Question] Should the situation in Sidon persist, will you declare civil disobedience?

[Answer] There is a saying for every occasion. We are not an armed force but steadfast people who have their opinion on Lebanon's unity and on the sovereignty of the legitimate government over every inch of Lebanon's soil. We recognize only the legitimate forces as the people's protector and Lebanese law as our refuge and haven. Our people will do all that an occupied people can do to achieve this. Our voice against the occupation has been and continues to be resounding. We are looking for greater sympathy from the legitimate government for the south to help it in its tribulation, to alleviate its suffering and to achieve its aspirations. Our appeals are addressed first to the legitimate government, second to the world conscience and third to the Lebanese people generally and the people of the south in particular.

[Question] So on what basis did you support the accord with Israel when Israel continues to engage in these actions in Sidon?

[Answer] I gave the government my confidence so that it might conduct the negotiations and end and eliminate the occupation from the land. If the outcome of the negotiations is to oust the occupation forces, then I gave the government my confidence on this basis. Consequently, the accord is the best thing the Lebanese negotiator was able to achieve. But the accord's benefit is tied to the possibility of its implementation. I am exerting my efforts along with those of others seeking to find the means to implement the accord and to spare Lebanon further troubles, damage and destruction, of which Lebanon has had enough.

[Question] But Israel is hinting at a partial withdrawal and this means there is a failure to implement the accord.

[Answer] The partial withdrawal about which Israel is talking, if it is not a part of the full withdrawal, constitutes a fatal blow to Lebanon and to the south in particular. I appeal to all responsible people to spare Lebanon this step, which will probably lead to Lebanon's fragmentation.

[Question] If Israel embarks on partial withdrawal, what will your position be?

[Answer] If Israel refuses to withdraw from the south and establishes permanent occupation in it (to achieve its historical aspirations), this will require collective southern and Lebanese action and action at all levels, regardless of the obstacles and of how arrogant the occupier becomes. There is no doubt that the legitimate government and the regime are thinking of numerous ways to confront any possibility that may lead to the division and fragmentation of Lebanon.



## Difficulty of Rebuilding Sidon

From the residence of Deputy Nazih al-Bizri, we moved to the temporary headquarters of the Sidon municipality, located at the Lebanon Electricity Company's building because the Israelis have destroyed the municipal council [building]. There we met with Mayor Ahmad al-Kalash, who described precisely the rebuilding and development steps undertaken by the municipality and the difficulties that face the work under the Israeli occupation.

We asked Kalash:

[Question] How would you sum up for us the role being played by Sidon municipality in the city's development?

[Answer] The municipality is undertaking all vital services and is offering the Sidon citizen all he needs at the social level, including supplies and medical care. The municipality also offers the citizen reconstruction aid in repairing homes. This is in addition to the other services required of a municipality, such as street sanitation and the removal of debris from the quarters and the roads.

[Question] What is the percentage of the damage inflicted on the city as a result of the invasion?

[Answer] The damage to property and to public and private establishments has been enormous. Nearly 3,500 housing units have been damaged, 65 percent of them cracked and 35 percent totally destroyed. Moreover, three elementary and secondary schools have been destroyed, in addition to the government hospital and the municipal council building, which is nothing more than a pile of rubble.

As for the commercial center, no less than 400 large and small businesses have been destroyed and 200 establishments completely burnt. In the central part of the city's coastline, where the fishermen's pier is located, we lost nearly 115 fishing boats with all their equipment. Moreover, the fishermen's homes all along the beach have been burned, not to mention the damage inflicted on the sewerage and drainage pipelines, water reservoirs and telephone and power lines, which sustained direct hits that have obstructed the restoration of services to the public. The actual losses sustained by the city as a result of the invasion have been established at \$500 million.

[Question] What services has the municipality achieved for the city so far?

[Answer] The damage sustained by the electricity, telephone, water and sewerage networks has been repaired in order to enable the city inhabitants to run their daily affairs. But the problem we now face is that these networks will not be workable in the near future if they are not replaced. The same applies at the health level. Even though government medical care is missing in the city, we have been able to secure health services for the citizens by concluding contracts with a number of private hospitals. But the problem we are still suffering from in the city, and the one we have not yet been able to deal with

completely, is the problem of housing. Most of the families that have lost their homes are still without homes. But al-Hariri Establishment, owned by Rafiq al-Hariri, is helping and assisting us in repairing buildings. Without this assistance, we would not have been able to revive Sidon this fast.

Finally, I would like to point out a social problem that is worsening daily in Sidon, namely, that there are 500 families that lost their breadwinners during the invasion and 500 other families that have lost their source of livelihood as a result of the destruction of their establishments and businesses. These families will not be able to survive without aid, especially since the Israeli occupation is intensifying its harassment of the citizens and is stifling the city economically. As a municipality, we face extreme difficulty in trying to totally rebuild and develop the city under the shadow of the occupation that threatens our social life with destruction if it persists in its inhuman actions.

#### Stifling Sidon Economically

From the mayor's office, we proceeded to the office of 'Ali al-Sharif, chairman of the Sidon Merchants Association, who summed up for AL-MUSTAQBAL the stifling economic situation being experienced by the city. He said, in part: "Sidon is stifled economically as a result of the Israeli domination imposed on the city. This domination has fully paralyzed the city's commercial activity. Sidon's merchants are suffering from a severe economic crisis at present as a result of the blockade imposed by the occupation forces. This crisis is embodied in:

First, the loss to the Sidon market of the Palestinians, who have left the city and who constituted a major purchasing power.

"Second, the departure of the evacuees, who have returned from the city to their villages in the south.

Third, the Mount Lebanon events, which have prevented the inhabitants of al-Shuf area villages, of 'Alayh and of al-Kharrub and coastal provinces from coming to Sidon for their shopping.

Fourth, to avoid being arrested at Israeli roadblocks, the inhabitants of neighboring towns and villages have stopped coming to Sidon.

"Fifth, the inundation of the southern market with cheap Israeli goods competing with local goods.

"Collectively, these factors have caused the commercial situation to decline sharply. The owners of shops and commercial establishments are suffering from the inability to sell their goods, and this poses the threat of a major social and economic catastrophe in the city."

Al-Sharif added: "The Israeli economic invasion is absorbing our economy and draining Sidon commercially. Currency liquidity is very low, interest payments owed by the merchants are rising daily, business establishments are selling nothing and their owners are making very little during the day...."

Regarding arrests in the city, al-Sharif said:

"Israel is seeking to destroy our city's economy by arresting our youth and taking them by force to Ansar Camp in order to strip the city of its work force. This is very dangerous at all social and survival levels. This is why we appeal to the state to move quickly to help us overcome this dilemma. We also appeal to the banks to assist Sidon merchants. If this help is not made available, the merchants of Sidon will not be able to stand on their own feet and survive."

#### Besieged Tyre

After spending 6 hours in the capital of the south, we proceeded from Sidon to Tyre, traveling through the villages of al-Ghaziyah, al-Zahrani, al-Sarafand, 'Allun and al-Qasimiyah. All along the road, we were faced with road signs written in Hebrew, with no Arabic translation. The Israelis have increased the number of their roadblocks all along the road and have built earthen walls surrounded by fortified bunkers and shacks and tents atop high buildings to watch and observe routes used by the Israeli convoys that constantly move throughout the area.

We arrived in Tyre at about 1300. Everything is normal. Activity in its popular market is very normal and the din is at its peak. But we read the signs of fear and caution in the faces of the city's inhabitants. The followers of Shawqi al-'Abdallah, who leads the United South Grouping, move among the citizens in the quarters and the streets with their military uniforms and their weapons.

Jamil Surur, a taxicab driver who lives in the city, described to AL-MUSTAQBAL the city's current situation in the midst of the campaign of arrests to which it is subjected, saying: "In the wake of the escalation of the armed operations against the positions of the occupying Israeli forces in Tyre and its suburbs, the Israelis began to harass city inhabitants, besieging them and arresting the youths and the men. In Tyre alone they arrested nearly 76 young men and took them to Israel a week ago. Their fate is still not known."

Fawzi al-Khalil, the owner of a grocery shop, also spoke about the situation in Tyre, saying: "The Israelis have built bunkers, fortifications and shelter near their military sites and positions inside the city and in its suburbs, using these large-scale security measures for observation and protection from attacks and military acts expected to be carried out against them by the southerners who reject the occupation and who will fight it with all the possible means. Victory will be ours, God willing."

'Ali al-Zayn, a teacher at the Tyre Government secondary school, said: "The Israeli forces have built a helicopter pad in al-Bass area near the city of Tyre and have ringed it with barbed wire in a move to transport these forces by helicopter and not by military trucks and vehicles that are constantly exposed to attacks by armed elements on the Tyre-al-Naqurah-al-Rashidiyah-Ra's al-'Ayn road. As a southern citizen, I hail these heroic armed elements who carry out these operations against the Israeli occupier. If this occupier

tries to retain the south and to keep in under his control, then we will all turn into resistance fighters in the face of his tyrannical occupation."

Mitri Kattur, a fisherman, said: "We want nothing other than to oust the Israeli forces from the south and from all the Lebanese territory. We want our state and our legitimate government to rule us. We have had enough wars and fighting. We want to live in peace. We have had enough death, killing and destruction. We can endure no more than we have endured."

#### Bishop Haddad's Threat

After touring the city of Tyre, we had to visit the seat of the Greek Catholic Bishopric to meet Bishop George Haddad, who the citizens of Tyre call the "humane ruler" of their city. But he is more than this. Bishop George Haddad is a humane commander, a spiritual leader and a father to all the citizens of Tyre. He considers himself the bishop not only of the Greek Catholics but also of the Shi'ites, the Sunna and the Christians in Tyre, without exception.

At the bishopric, Bishop Haddad welcomed us and spoke his mind to AL-MUSTAQBAL and we had the following dialogue with him:

[Question] The Israeli campaign of arrests in Tyre and in the southern towns and villages has been resumed. What is the reason for these arrests?

[Answer] As you know, the positions and camps of the occupying Israeli forces are being subjected every now and then to attacks by armed elements. This is something that is faced by any occupier. As a result of this situation, the campaign of raids and arrests has been resumed in Tyre, al-Nabatiyah and the peaceful southern villages. We cannot remain silent over these actions, because the Israeli occupation army storms peaceful homes and arrests innocent youths and men who have nothing to do with the attacks. Some of those arrested are lawyers, engineers and school teachers.

[Question] What has been the outcome of the strike staged in Tyre to protest these actions?

[Answer] Tyre declared the strike in a peaceful manner that was suitable for expressing its wrath in the face of the occupation that has persisted in its blind actions and campaigns. This means that the entire south, not just Tyre, will rise in anger in the face of the occupation.

[Question] Have you learned the fate of the detainees?

[Answer] Some of them are in Ansar Camp and others are in Israel. Contacts with them take place through the International Red Cross. But our youth in detention are, of course, exposed to the ugliest forms of torture.

[Question] What is your opinion of the accord that Lebanon has concluded with Israel?

[Answer] This is what Lebanon was able to get. Of course, we had hoped that Israel would withdraw without such an accord between us and Israel. However, I support this accord if it guarantees the departure of the occupying Israeli armies and if it restores Lebanese sovereignty and legitimate government to the south and to the rest of Lebanese territory. I am against the accord if Israel tries to foil it or not implement it.

From the Greek Catholic Bishopric, we headed for the residence of Rabab al-Sadr, but we did not find her there because she was in Beirut.

#### Al-Nabatiyah Appeals for Help

At 1500, we proceeded from Tyre to al-Nabatiyah, taking the road that goes through al-Qasimiyah, Abu al-Usud farm and Ansar, where the Israelis have escalated their presence near Ansar Camp. All along the stretch extending from al-Duwayr to al-Huruf and al-Nabatiyah, we encountered numerous Israeli mobile roadblocks and foot patrols that were conducting a large-scale military combing operation of the area. On al-Nabatiyah boulevard, we saw Israeli [Hebrew] signs, as in all the occupied areas. Its markets and streets show normal traffic and business activity. The city's face was changed from a year ago. The Israelis roam the city constantly, especially the main street, keeping in mind that they have withdrawn their presence from the city. The flags and slogans of the Free Lebanon Army rise above a number of buildings in which this army has opened its centers. Some elements of this army stand at the Israeli mobile roadblocks, examine identity cards and help direct traffic. The city's roads are full of potholes, and gutted buildings and houses are present in every quarter. To put it briefly, the fire of the war has not yet been extinguished in al-Nabatiyah, which was the almost constant target of the daily artillery exchanges between the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces on the one hand and Sa'd Haddad's and Israeli forces on the other hand over a period of 5 years, and the city's wounds have not yet healed.

Popular anger is prevalent in all quarters and the people are in a state of caution and wrath at the same time. The Israelis storm their homes in the middle of the night, terrorize the women and children and arrest the men and the youths.

In the city's Husayniyah [Shi'ite social and religious center] and some meters from the Free Lebanon Army center, a number of women and their children gathered around an old clergyman to ask him to speed up his efforts and mediation with the occupation authorities to release their sons. We approached the man and he introduced himself as a member of the Mount 'Amil 'Ulema Grouping but refused to reveal his name to AL-MUSTAQBAL. He talked to us angrily, saying: "Write on my behalf in your magazine that the revolution against the occupation has started. The Israelis are pushing us to hell but we will prove that we are people with a right to our land and our country and we will not allow them to achieve their goals. They want to subjugate us by force. They storm our homes, beat the women and children and arrest the youths and the men. They destroy our crops and burn our cultivable lands to force us to ask for help from the Zionists. By God and by God again and again, we will not succumb to them and we will resist them, and it is either them or us. The battle of destiny and of



"survival has started and will not end until we achieve our victory over them because we are struggling and striving to keep our land and our country."

From the Husayniyah, we proceeded to the city government building, which now houses the governorate's temporary headquarters and all the official agencies, including the gendarmerie platoon, the public security center, the jail and the courts. What draws attention is that the governorate employees go back to work with the governor in the afternoon in order to conduct the affairs of the citizens, who are earnestly seeking legitimate governments, justice and law.

We enter the governorate where the citizens pursue their own business directly without any middlemen and where the employees render their services in the best manner. We passed by an office on whose door hung a sign saying "see the district officer if you feel that you are being done an injustice." You know then that it is the office of District Officer 'Adnan [no family name given]. He receives you and when he learns that you have come to ask about al-Nabatiyah, he refers you very politely to the governor because he alone is the official empowered to make press statements. When you enter the office of Governor Ibrahim al-Faqih you find a man of composure with an ever-present smile who receives you as if you were a friend. After the introductions were made, we had a short interview with him:

[Question] What services are performed by the governorate to rebuild and develop al-Nabatiyah now that a year has passed since the invasion?

[Answer] You are aware of the security conditions experienced by the south generally and by al-Nabatiyah areas and districts in particular. Those conditions caused the forced absence of the state from al-Nabatiyah for a period of 8 years, and for more than 10 years from some of its districts. All this has generated social and developmental backwardness in the area, considering that the state's constitutional institutions were destroyed and the area's economic activity totally paralyzed.

In the wake of the relative change in al-Nabatiyah's security conditions, al-Nabatiyah inhabitants have begun to move and to exert efforts to develop their city to make up for the lost years. The governorate, in cooperation with al-Nabatiyah Municipality, has begun to carry out the duties entrusted to it to serve al-Nabatiyah, which has suffered more heavily than others from the war. Since the return of the legitimate authority to the south, conditions have been improving daily, especially since the present administration, led by His Excellency President Amin al-Jumayyil, strives to develop rural areas so that there will be developmental and organic integration in all the Lebanese territories. The administration has embarked on initial studies to draw up scientific plans that contribute to developing these areas by improving the telephone, telex, electricity, road and water networks and building modern schools. I believe that this plan for al-Nabatiyah Governorate and for the other Lebanese rural areas will be complete and ready within a period of no more than 5 years.



[Question] Has the governorate made a move to put an end to the large-scale campaign of arrests that is being carried out by the occupation authorities?

[Answer] The answer to this question lies with the government agencies concerned and these agencies have the right to answer this question.

We retraced our steps to Beirut, carrying in our notes the pains of the patient and steadfast southern citizen who, like the other Lebanese citizens saddled by occupations, dreams of the day when the state returns so that he can rest secure under the shadow of its authority and live under its law.

### In Camps

On the following day, we headed for the camps. Even though I had had enough of the grief and the suffering that I had felt on the previous day, it was impossible for us to leave the south without stopping by the camps where life is almost harder than life in hell.

On the way, I tried without success not to think of it but my head was swarming with questions and one thought disappeared only to be replaced by another. My memory took me back to the horrible scenes I had witnessed a year earlier--during the first week of the Israeli invasion, to be exact. I remembered how we traveled through a long and heavily potholed road and how we encountered columns of Israeli troops coming, it seemed, for long-range official tasks.

My train of thought was interrupted by the voice of 'Abd Badr al-Din humming a song whose words I could not pick up. He was driving his car merrily and we passed one roadblock after another until we reached the city of Tyre.

There, where we made our first stop, I returned to the real world; we decided to go to al-Rashidiyah camp, then to al-Burj al-Shamaili camp and then to al-Bass camp, with the intention of stopping at 'Ayn al-Halwah camp on our way back, which we did.

Briefly, we can say that the situation at these camps can be summed up on three words: "20th century tragedy." It is truly a multi-faceted homelessness. It is the premeditated misery of this century's civilization, not to mention the mutilation suffered by some and the extremely poor social conditions. The houses are still demolished and you can see tents and tin shacks on all sides. Health conditions lack minimal requirements. There are no fully-equipped clinics and medical supplies are insufficient. As for food supplies, they are in no better condition. Food is rationed in small and inadequate quantities. As for the schools, they consist of tents, each crammed with tens of students.

What draws attention is that the camp's population consists entirely of old people, women and children. There are very few youths and men. We got the explanation from one of the women, who said: "Those of us whose husbands or brothers have not been killed find them arrested, with their sons, in Ansar." An old woman beseeched God to let "Israel invade all the Arab countries." An old man stopped us to say: "Write on my behalf that we have no hope other than the State of Lebanon to protect us with its army from the Israelis and the

"armed elements." The truth is that Israeli soldiers are spread throughout the camps and deployed at their entrances. Fear is prevalent among all. After school, each mother gathers her children to protect them from the malice, hatred and vengeance of these troops. Often, one of these children passes to God's mercy without any justification or reason.

Al-Rashidiyah camp, located south of Tyre and inhabited by more than 10,000 Palestinian refugees, was the first Palestinian camp subjected to the Israeli air, ground and naval bombardment. The camp became an inferno in the wake of the invasion because the Israeli military machine did not leave one stone atop another in the camp, went on a killing spree against its inhabitants and subjected them to all forms of barbarism and brutality, killing whomever it wanted and subjecting the others to the yoke of detention and eviction.

We entered the camp at 0800. Silence was everywhere. All people moved quietly and are consumed with fear. We toured all parts of the camp and found most of its houses turned into rubble on the ground. Its inhabitants are without shelter or housing. They live among the debris of their homes and have nothing other than light blankets to protect them from the cold and the wind. The women search for food for their children and the children, almost naked, play among the camp's narrow paths and alleys. The old men and women sit in the corners of their destroyed homes, praying for the "day of repatriation." The men and the youths have been arrested and detained at Ansar Camp.

Huda Mahmud, from Acre District, told AL-MUSTAQBAL: "Three of my children have been martyred for the cause for which they carried arms. They died in defense of dignity. The Israelis arrested my other three children and detained them at Ansar Camp. They have released two and kept one, who is being subjected to the ugliest forms of torture. Conditions in the camp are unbearable. No Arab official has visited us to see our suffering. Only the UNRWA provides us with some food and some medical care, which are not enough. UNRWA officials have visited us repeatedly. We have been expecting any Arab official or Arab ambassador in Lebanon to visit but none of them have. Where are they? Where is their faith in our cause? We no longer believe anything they say. They have left us to be massacred like sheep. What a shameful history."

Hafiz Muhammad Salih, from Safad, said: "What shall I tell you about our conditions, son? As you see, there are only women and children in the camp. Our sons are detained in Ansar, not to mention those who were martyred. We no longer have shelter. All our homes have been demolished, our children have no schools and the camp has no complete clinic capable of offering us necessary medical services. Food supplies are given to us by the UNRWA office in the camp, but they are in no way adequate. All of the families need a great deal of assistance because they have nobody to support them. We have raised our voice high and have asked UNRWA to begin rebuilding our homes but it has not responded fully to our request. It has given us some money (2,000 Lebanese pounds) to rebuild the homes. So far, we have not been able to put one stone atop another because of the constant acts of suppression that the Israelis inflict on us day and night."

Ramzi Khalil, the camp director, from Safad District, spoke to AL-IUSTAQAL in his capacity as the officer in charge of the UNRWA office that renders services to the refugees, saying: "It is well known that UNRWA is the only organization that has been taking care of the Palestinian refugees' affairs in Lebanon since 1948. In the wake of the oppressive Israeli invasion and of what the Palestinians in the south have been exposed to, the UN organization has increased its aid to them because it considers the situation of the inhabitants of the refugee camps in the south an 'emergency situation.' I can say--and I do not say this in defense of the UNRWA--that if it were not for the UNRWA, the inhabitants of all the refugee camps in South Lebanon would have starved to death."

As for the aid, he said: "It may not be sufficient but it does meet a major need of the camp's inhabitants. Most of the camp families have lost their breadwinners, who have been either killed or are detained in Ansar. As a result, these families have found nobody other than UNRWA to provide the livelihood and medical care that they need. We provide the refugees with various kinds of food supplies, medicines and blankets. There is a permanent clinic in the camp, with a doctor and nurses. The camp also has 21 UNRWA workers whose job is to remove garbage from the camp and to spray pesticides. In addition to all this, there is a nutrition center that offers a daily meal to camp children aged 2-15 years."

Concluding, Ramzi Khalil said: "I believe that UNRWA aid will increase in the near future because of the camp inhabitants' need for more aid than is now being offered."

#### In al-Burj al-Shamali Camp

From al-Rashidiyah camp, we proceeded to al-Burj al-Shamali camp. It is the same tragedy. Everything in the camp tells of the hardship being experienced by the camp inhabitants, who are trying as hard as they can to rebuild their destroyed homes. They live at present under the tents that UNRWA built for them months ago over the rubble of their homes, which have become semiruin.

Before touring the camp, we headed to the office of the camp director and found him, along with his employees, running the daily affairs of the camp inhabitants. We entered the office but when he became aware of our press identity and the purpose of our visit, he immediately said in a harsh tone: "I don't want to talk to an Arab paper. All the Arabs have sold us out and left us to face death and humiliation alone."

He then said: "We raise our voice in appeal to whomever supports us and urge him to assist us. We ask the Lebanese Government to help us, to assist our children and to protect us from Israel. We also beg the Lebanese Government to grant us licenses to rebuild our homes in the camps because it is unreasonable for our children to remain in tin shacks and tents."

After meeting with Nayif 'Azzam, the camp director, we made a quick tour of the camp and met a number of its inhabitants.

Ahmad Yusuf Dakkur, the camp school principal, said: "Our direct relationship is with the representatives of the UNRWA Educational Commission, who supply us with all the educational needs of the school, such as books, notebooks and furniture. But we do suffer from the fact that what is supplied is not enough. The classrooms are spacious but lack sufficient seats. The French Government, as well as a number of European countries, have given us some aid. But it is not enough. On the other hand, we suffer from a great shortage in the teaching staff. I, for example, am the school's acting principal because the actual principal, Nimr al-Tayi', is detained in Ansar. There is also another teacher, Sulayman Khalaf, being held at Ansar. Previously, there were other teachers detained in Ansar but they were released not long ago. What is important is to point out that we are suffering at the educational level in the camp from a great shortage of almost everything, whether books, teaching aids, stationery or teachers. UNRWA has promised to increase its assistance to us in this sphere in the near future."

Hasan Nahar, from Tall Shiha village in Acre District, said: "We have disavowed all values and principles and we no longer believe in anybody. All have betrayed us and sold us out for the cheapest price. Our sons have been martyred, our women and children have been made homeless, our honor has been violated and every vice has been committed against us while the Arabs remain silent, as if participating in killing and massacring us with their silence."

#### In al-Bass Camp

From Burj al-Shamali camp we went to al-Bas camp, which is located at the southern entrance to Tyre. In this camp, which was once populated by 15,000 Palestinian refugees, only 8,000 refugees remain. The Israelis have surrounded the camp with barbed wire and warn against approaching it because it has been turned into a military zone. We entered it stealthily and familiarized ourselves with its inhabitants' conditions by meeting some of these inhabitants and through our interview with the camp director, who revealed to us all the hardships that the camp inhabitants experience.

Khalil Muhammad Hasan said: "Since 1948, we have been carrying our cause in our hearts and struggling for the restoration of our usurped right. We are still exposed to forceful eviction from place to place. Nothing is left. They have destroyed our homes, burned our property, attacked our women and taken our men to Ansar camp, where they are still detained. Nobody asks about us and nobody gives a thought to our situation. Only UNRWA, through its office in the camp, provides us with food, medicine and educational assistance. But this aid is inadequate. There isn't a good clinic and there are no good schools. Our children study in tents and the food given us and them would not be eaten by donkeys. We are treated like animals, not as human beings. The Israelis are tightening the noose around us and they prevent us from leaving the camp. They asked us to cooperate with them and when we refused they began to harass us anew. We appeal to the world conscience and ask all free and peace-loving peoples to come to our rescue and to see our true suffering under the yoke of the humiliating Israeli occupation."



Ahmad Hasan Da'is said: "I got out of Ansar camp more than a month ago. The Israelis arrested me immediately upon entering the camp and detained me at Ansar. They treated me cruelly. They beat me fiercely and put me in dirty places. The food they served us was unfit. More than 100 young men died in the camp as a result of disease, malnutrition, beatings and torture. There are still nearly 6,000 Palestinian youths in Ansar camp."

Finally, 'Abdu 'Arif al-Lahham, the camp director, spoke, saying: "Our office, which is controlled by UNRWA, tends to the inhabitants' living conditions and we supply the inhabitants with all they need in terms of food supplies, medicine and education. I believe that what we have offered the inhabitants so far is of large dimensions if compared with the deteriorating conditions under which we currently live in the south as a result of the Israeli occupation that encircles the area. It is true that there are loud protests by the camp inhabitants regarding this assistance. But we use the resources made available to us for the camp inhabitants. I hope that the volume of this aid will grow in the near future because UNRWA is currently studying the possibility of increasing this aid."

Concluding his statement, the camp director said: "The only problem facing the camp inhabitants is that of the electric power, which has been cut off finally. The camp inhabitants are also awaiting a decision by the Lebanese authorities concerned on building permits. I hope that the Lebanese Government, in which we have full confidence, will make its decision on this issue as soon as possible because it is unreasonable that our children remain homeless, with no shelter and no homes."

#### In 'Ayn al-Hulwah Camp

After our long visit to al-Rashidiyah, al-Burj al-Shamali and al-Bass camps in the Tyre area, we proceeded to 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp, one of the biggest camps not only in the south but in all of Lebanon.

Entering it is like entering the unknown or entering hell. Everyone remembers the days of the Israeli blockade of 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp--a blockade that lasted nearly 2 weeks and was fought ferociously. The Israelis then entered the camp and did not leave one stone standing atop another. Their bulldozers worked day and night to demolish the camp on the heads of those who had remained in it, most of them women, children and old men.

Today, we enter the camp to see its ruins a year after the invasion. We look around us and see only old men and women sitting on the stones of their houses, weeping and wailing from the depth of their hearts "We want to return to Palestine, we want to live in peace, we refuse to sleep in tents, and shacks."

The camp refugees suffer from numerous diseases because there is nobody to care for them medically or to offer them health care. The Palestinian Red Crescent Hospital has been completely destroyed. UNRWA doctors visit them from time to time but this, in their view is not enough. The UNRWA schools in the

camp have also been destroyed and the children carry on with their studies in the tents erected in the camp's public squares. Food supplies are not regularly available.

We meet with a number of 'Ayn al-Hulwah Camp inhabitants and they recount to us chapters in the tragedy under which they live.

Fawziyah Hadid talked to us while moving stones to help her husband rebuild the demolished house: "Our catastrophe is great. They were not content to kill our men and our youths but also destroyed the homes over our heads. We, as you see, carry the stones on our shoulders to rebuild whatever we can rebuild. Nobody pays any attention to us. They have all abandoned us and moved away from us."

Qasim Muhammad al-Kull said: "All the houses in the camp have been demolished and there isn't a single home fit for dwelling. The camp inhabitants do as much as they can to repair whatever can be repaired. Our youths and men are detained in Ansar and Israeli patrols go through the camp from time to time and arrest whomever they wish without anybody opposing them. We can no longer bear this life of humiliation with the Israelis. Death is easier for us than this obnoxious life."

'Ablah Yasin said: "The Israelis have killed my husband and my three sons and I have nobody to support me. My daughters study at the camp school and we eat and survive on UNRWA aid, which is insufficient. But we have no source other than UNRWA. I shout with all my heart and beseech God to try the Arabs with a tragedy like the tragedy under which we live and to demolish their homes as our home has been demolished. I want nothing more."

Fatimah Sa'id said: "We have lost all hope of returning to Palestine after what has afflicted us. They have made our children and babies homeless and have killed our youths and our men. What can I say? All I hope is that God will not leave us alone now that the Arab brothers have abandoned us to the savage Jews."

Sa'id Muhammad 'Abbas said: "They have killed my son and his five sons. They are butchers. They have killed the creme of our youth and have taken the rest to Ansar camp. Where are the Arab presidents and kings to rise to our rescue? Where are the Arab armies that have been calling for liberation, dignity and pan-Arabism?"

#### Refusing To Deal With Israel

Finally, we met with Kamil Sulayman Hujayr, director of 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp, who spoke in detail about the camp's current situation under the shadow of the Israeli bayonets.

[Question] How do you manage your affairs under the Israeli presence inside the camp?

[Answer] The inhabitants of 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp do not deal with the Israelis, who tried at the outset to entice the inhabitants by offering them



prefabricated houses and by giving them food and medical aid, as well as military aid, to support them. But our sons who believe in their cause refused this and preferred death to dealing with the enemy and the usurper of their land.

[Question] But it is said that a number of 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp inhabitants deal with the Israelis?

[Answer] There are always some plotting elements that deal with Israel. Everybody knows that such elements existed inside the resistance ranks before Israel's invasion of Lebanon. These elements are still free to do as they wish and to deal with Israel easily. But as for 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp inhabitants, I say that they have refused to deal with the Israeli occupation and that they still stand by their position.

[Question] It has been said that Israel seeks to arm those who collaborate with it in the camp and to form with them a military division under the name of al-Ansar, as it is doing in the southern Lebanese villages.

[Answer] Israel is trying to drag us into a direct confrontation with the Lebanese in the south. This is why it is seeking to make us deal with it and establish warm relations with it by arming our youths after releasing them from Ansar camp, their release being tied to this condition, and by forming armed military groups under the name of al-Ansar to back it up and support it in whatever it seeks to do in south Lebanon. But the inhabitants of 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp are aware of the dimensions of this step and stand resolutely to foil Israel's scheme, which actually seeks to ignite the fire of sedition between us and the southerners.

[Question] Are there contacts between you and the PLO?

[Answer] Such contacts have been cut off finally since the invasion.

[Question] Do you contact the PLO representatives in Beirut?

[Answer] No.

[Question] How is your relationship with the State of Lebanon?

[Answer] It is not complete yet. But we are waiting impatiently for the legitimate Lebanese Government and the Lebanese Army to establish control in the area because we yearn for the return of the Lebanese Government, which we consider our final refuge to protect us from Israel and all the evil armed elements.

8494

CSO: 4404/500

NEW HEAD OF STATE CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL APPOINTED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 30 Jun 83 p 2

[Text] At its meeting yesterday, the Council of Ministers appointed Dr Yusuf Sa'dallah al-Khuri chairman of the State Consultative Council and praised his predecessor, Dr Antoine Barud, who has been retired, for his services to the judiciary.

Dr Yusuf Sa'dallah al-Khuri was born in 'Ayn 'Ikrin (al-Kurah) in 1934.

He started and finished his elementary schooling at Saint Joseph's Institute of the Miryamite Order in al-Batrun and completed his junior high and high school at the Freres Institute and the Carmelite Brothers Institute in Tripoli.

He acquired his degree in French and Lebanese law from the Law College of Saint Joseph's University. He continued his studies and received his state PhD in general law from Paris' Fifth University with a very good rating.

He is a professor of general administrative law at the Lebanese University's Law College--second branch--and is a member of the Lebanese University's Higher Legal Commission. He has written several legal articles and studies and is a lecturing professor at the Civil Service Commission's Management and Development Institute.

He entered the civil service as legal assistant in 1957 and was then appointed a controller at the Accounting Bureau in 1959 and then a judge at the bureau in 1965. On 13 April 1983, he was appointed general director of the presidency's legal and administrative affairs and on 29 June 1983 he was appointed chairman of the State Consultative Council.

He is married to Diana Yusuf Zablit and they have three sons: Charles, Christian and Claude.

8494

CSO: 4404/495

PLANNED ISRAELI REDEPLOYMENT IN SOUTH ANALYZED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 328, 4 Jun 83 p 23

[Article: "Latest Israeli Maneuver: Withdrawal to al-Awwali; Lebanese Officials Are Trying To Solve Israeli Puzzle: Ambassador Philip Habib Conveyed Israel's Earnest Wish To Withdraw to Sidon's Northern Gates, Yet Intensification of Security Situation in Mount Lebanon Has Continued"]

[Text] Beirut--On his return from Israel in the middle of last week, U.S. Presidential Envoy Philip Habib conveyed to top Lebanese officials Israel's intention to withdraw from Mount Lebanon to al-Awwali River at the gate to the southern area.

Ambassador Habib told Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil that he had been entrusted to advise him officially of an initial decision by the Israeli Government to implement a partial unilateral withdrawal due to requirements dictated by Israeli security in this phase and to be content with this withdrawal until the Syrian position on withdrawal from Lebanon is decided.

The U.S. presidential envoy asserted that the Israelis are serious this time on the issue of withdrawing from Mount Lebanon, contrary to previous times when they resorted to threats of withdrawal from Mount Lebanon as a means of influencing the Lebanese position in the negotiations.

This is the first time the U.S. presidential envoy has carried from Israel serious and official information on a withdrawal from Mount Lebanon, because previously and throughout the 4 months of the negotiations, the Israelis threatened every now and then to withdraw from the mountain while the negotiations were still in progress with the aim of blackmailing the Lebanese and exerting pressure on their position within the negotiations in order to acquire certain gains and concessions from Lebanon, proceeding on the basis of their understanding that a unilateral withdrawal from the mountain without coordination with the Lebanese Government, leaving the situation there in its present state, would lead to a breakdown in the security situation and to massacres between the Druze and Christian factions fighting on the mountain.

Israel continued to play the card of withdrawal from the mountain until the Lebanese Government decided to force its hand and invited the Israelis to withdraw anytime they wished, expressing its readiness to face any difficult situation that might arise on the mountain by sending units of the Lebanese Army to deal with it.

After that, Israel stopped its threats of withdrawal until the well-known accord was concluded--an accord whose implementation has faltered as a result of Syrian opposition to it. This time, Philip Habib came to tell the Lebanese president that Israel's desire to withdraw from the mountain under the cloak of the concluded agreement is a serious desire and not a maneuver.

But the U.S. envoy did not carry with him any detailed plan on the Israeli withdrawal from Mount Lebanon to al-Awwali River on the grounds that the issue is still under study in Israel from military and practical perspectives and that the Israeli officials face one of two options:

First, maintain advance Israeli positions in the Mount Lebanon area to face the possibility that Syrian and Palestinian forces might exploit the situation to move in the direction of al-Shuf.

Second, to withdraw from the mountain completely--a withdrawal that makes it necessary to examine all of the possibilities for guaranteeing that the Syrian and Palestinian forces will not move into the Mount Lebanon and al-Shuf area.

From the information conveyed by Philip Habib, top Lebanese officials became certain that Israel wishes to coordinate its withdrawal with the Lebanese Government so that this government might, through its army and internal security forces, fill the security vacuum in the area. This is what prompted the Israeli Government to ask Philip Habib to notify the Lebanese Government of the matter and to discuss the spheres of coordination between the two sides.

But Israel has stressed this time that it wants to withdraw from the mountain for Israeli political and security considerations, and this has prompted Lebanese circles to accept this fait accompli as long as it will lead, in coordination with the legitimate government, to restoring Lebanese territory, the Mount Lebanon area specifically, especially since this withdrawal is likely to eliminate from this sensitive area the Israeli influence that has persistently worked to ignite fighting, to plant the seeds of sectarian sedition and to undermine the formula of coexistence there. This will help achieve a political solution between the warring inhabitants of the mountain.

But the Lebanese authorities have made it conditional that this withdrawal take place in isolation from the accord. Ambassador Habib has been told that if Israel wants to withdraw from the mountain, Lebanon cannot prevent it. But it must understand that this withdrawal is not a compromise replacing the accord and that if Israel thinks along this line and contributes in one way or another to obstructing the accord so that it can stay in South Lebanon, then this means that it is colluding in the plot to partition and splinter Lebanon.

The other condition made by the Lebanese authorities is that if Israel is actually planning to withdraw from the mountain, then its withdrawal from that area must be complete and it must not maintain advance positions in the mountain under the pretext of confronting any expansion of the Syrian and Palestinian forces, because such a pretext falls when the withdrawal is carried out in coordination with the multinational forces and with the understanding that these forces will be deployed all along tangential lines with the Syrian and

Palestinian forces, because the presence of such a force, along with a concerted deployment of the [Lebanese] Army, will prevent entry or expansion of the Syrian and Palestinian forces.

Even though Beirut was waiting all last week to learn the Israeli plan for withdrawal from the mountain, the top Lebanese officials have not yet found a solution to the Israeli puzzle of persisting in charging the mountain area with tension and escalating the combat situation there to the extent that it poses a threat of real massacres, signs of which are seen in the kidnappings and counterkidnappings that ended with the liquidation of more than 23 kidnapped persons from the two factions.

The Lebanese officials have tried to involve Philip Habib in the search for a solution to this puzzle because at a time when Israel has signed an accord for complete withdrawal from Lebanon and when it has expressed its desire to withdraw from the mountain under the pretext of displaying goodwill, its rekindling of the situation in the mountain becomes incomprehensible.

Habib was told that the State of Lebanon has not yet found any justification for this Israeli position unless Israel is continuing to play the game of igniting sectarian conflicts and of drowning Lebanon in sectarian wars that make it impossible to return to normal living conditions under a unified state governed by a democratic system.

In the course of looking for a solution to this Israeli puzzle, a top Lebanese official told Ambassador Habib: When Israel resorted to stirring the situation in the mountain during the negotiations, we understood that it sought to convey in this way a message to the Lebanese negotiator. But if Israel now has any messages that it wants to convey to the Lebanese Government, it can do so through the U.S. envoys and other means, but without using the mountain as a way of conveying these messages to us. The mountain situation can withstand no more deterioration, and the efforts being exerted by the president of the republic to reach a political solution have been successful so far and have achieved considerable results. Thus, any security explosion in the mountain means that the objective is to obstruct the president's efforts and the efforts of the other political forces participating in the president's mediation and efforts.

The president's efforts have been reflected on the ground in the wake of the latest escalation, which was marked by a large-scale wave of kidnapping and counterkidnapping--a wave that included a prominent Christian clergyman, Bishop Yusuf al-Khuri, pastor of the Sur Maronite parish. The president's efforts helped to contain the consequences and ramifications of these incidents, which could have led to major massacres. In the past, the kidnapping of one or three persons led to igniting and exploding the situation, not to mention what such a massacre--which claimed the lives of tens of persons from both sides, killed on the strength of their identity card, in addition to the victims of the artillery exchanges and the homes and property they destroyed--could have led to.

8494

CSO: 4404/435



DIFFERENT VIEWS ON CHANGES IN RENT LAWS EXPRESSED

Shi'ite Council's Opposition

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 25 Jun 83 p 4

[Text] Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, deputy chairman of the Higher Shi'ite Islamic Council, has asked the government to withdraw the bill to amend the rent law from the Chamber of Deputies, urging it to "reexamine it and to introduce into it changes that prevent harm to tenants and half the landlords."

Shams-al-Din says that the secretariat of the Shi'ite Council's Permanent National Housing Congress has prepared a socio-legal study on the amendment bill "which shows that this bill exposes tenants, especially those with a limited income, to the danger of losing their housing, thus creating a fearful social problem whose consequences will affect the overwhelming majority of tenants."

Shams-al-Din urges the government "to adopt an urgent long-range housing policy that serves the interest of people with a limited income and enables them to own proper dwellings," expressing the belief that "implementation of such a policy must precede any reexamination of the rent laws."

The congress secretariat's study says in part that "most of the essential amendments have been in the interest of the lessor and some of them can be described as grave amendments that will have fundamental ramifications on future leasing relations."

The study notes that the amendments serving the lessor's interest are included in paragraphs D and F and in articles 3, 6, 14, 22, 24, 35 and 36.

As for the amendments that the study considers to be in the interest of the tenant, they are included in paragraph D of article 9 and in articles 23 and 25.

The study describes the amendments introduced to articles 4 and 5 and paragraph D, added to article 18 and articles 19, 28 and 29, as "different and good amendments in the bill."

The study also notes that "the other amendments deal with procedural matters and with correcting computational, bureaucratic or material errors."



## Small Landlords' Support

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 25 Jun 83 p 4

[Text] The Small Landlords Association has expressed the view that the bill to amend the rent law "has been necessary as a temporary solution, even though it does not solve the housing crisis." The association has expressed the hope that Speaker Kamil al-As'ad will present the bill to the Chamber of Deputies so that the 40-day period of grace may go into effect. The association has also expressed the hope that the Parliamentary Administration and Justice Committee "will approve the amendment in its present form because the ministerial committee has fully studied and examined it."

The association held a press conference yesterday at the Editors Union and issued a statement read by Lawyer Hasib Abu 'Asalah, association chairman. The statement says that the legislature "has promulgated three laws that are applied simultaneously, namely, law 20/82, law 10/74 and law 7/77.... This has paralyzed the construction sector, curtailing construction activity in the country. It has thus become impossible to find an apartment for rent in Lebanon and both the tenant and the landlord have been ruined."

The statement expresses the association's appreciation of government efforts to restore confidence to the construction sector through these amendments. It also expresses the association's regrets that the issue of rents is not kept within the sphere of the special powers.

### Idea of Purchasing Buildings

The statement adds that "small landlords constitute at least 45 percent of the Lebanese people" and expresses the hope that instead of building houses, the government "will purchase existing apartment buildings and lease them, thus relieving us from the loss afflicting us."

The statement urges the state to adopt a final solution to this crisis, proposing:

"Abolition of all special laws and restoration of the obligations and contracts law because these [special] laws are in violation of the constitution and the establishment of a fair, lasting and balanced rent law that creates confidence in the citizen and motivates him to work in the construction sector.

"Intervention by the public sector to establish a complete housing law compatible with the rent law as a way of protecting the private sector.

"Formulation of a law that expands investment and encourages construction.

"Final abolition of the principle of compensation because it deprives the landlord of his ownership, which is protected by the constitution, provided that a fair [rent increase] rate, taking into consideration all of a person's incomes and possessions, is established, that the old rates are modified according to needs and living conditions and that they are periodically subjected to the

cost-of-living increase at a rate equivalent to the minimum wage increase rate and that the old tenant is given a logical and acceptable period of grace and is then subjected to the principle of free contracting, except in cases of re-possession [of leased housing] for family need, for demolition and for reconstruction.

"Formation of a special committee to study the new law on democratic bases that safeguard the rights of all citizens, encourage the construction sector, the mainstay of this country, and restore confidence and vitality to individual initiative because this is the cause of Lebanon's survival."

#### Denunciation by Amal Movement

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 25 Jun 83 p 4

[Text] The Amal Movement has reaffirmed the south's and southerners' commitment to the "liberation message and their appreciation for the efforts and role of the UN emergency forces."

Amal also considers the new rent law "an obvious plot against tenants' rights" and "a plot for the eviction of those who have not yet been evicted." The movement says that "the regime is serious in implementing the law on lifting immunity from civil servants in order to dismiss those who are undesirable and replace them with supporters of the dominant faction."

The Amal Movement Political Bureau held a meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of Eng 'Akif Haydar and issued the following statement:

"First, it seems that the continued raids in the south and in western al-Biqa', especially the raids against the villages of 'Arabsalim Kamid al-Lawz, Sahmar, Yahmar, al-Qara'un and Dayr al-Qanun, have actually gone beyond the framework of ostensible security reasons because the true objective is to force the citizens to deal with the enemy and to work for his interest in compliance with a premeditated plan and the enemy's security supervision over implementation of the Lebanese-Israeli accord.

"Within this framework, the campaign against the UN emergency forces, especially against the Fujian unit, by Israel's well-known agents is intensifying and becoming more ferocious. After the farce of the signatures said to have been those of a number of mukhtars, we are now faced with the farce of the call for a general strike in Tyre today (yesterday), Friday, which is ordinarily a holiday, to mislead public opinion into believing that the city of Tyre is against these forces. While denouncing this persistence in criminal acts, we reaffirm the south's and the southerners' commitment to the liberation message and their appreciation for the efforts and role of the UN forces.

"Second, the movement's Political Bureau believes that the bill to amend the rent law--a bill requested and prepared out of a concern to clarify a number of points in the law--has exceeded the objective set for it, has dealt with the crux and essence of the issue and has been given a sense of urgency. In the movement's view, the bill is an exposed plot against the rights of tenants,

who constitute the overwhelming majority. Considering that this issue has been fully studied and opposed by lawyers, high-ranking officials and all political leaders, we are content to point out that in its present form, the bill is tantamount to a scheme to evict those who have not yet been evicted. Those not evicted by the bombs will be evicted by the law at a time when the people look to the law to protect them, not do them an injustice.

"Third, the Political Bureau has noted that the issue of domination, which began with abnormal and surprising acts, has begun to assume a scientific, methodical and well-studied form, as if it were the implementation of a premeditated policy. While domination [al-haymanah] destroys the future of 1,700 employees in the Lebanon Oget Company who have been dismissed from their jobs because of the theft of company equipment, while it imposes an administration on the Kafr Falus Hospital until the year 1999 and while it has dictated the appointment of 60 percent of the civil servants of this institution, which has removed the ashes and the dirt from Lebanon's chest, from among members of the dominant faction, we find the regime proceeding seriously with the law lifting immunity from the civil servants in order to dismiss the undesirables among them and replace them by supporters of the dominant faction, all within the framework of the same policy.

"Fourth, the movement assures the government officials that it is essential to publish results of the investigations of the massacres in Sabra and Shatila camps. The Israeli enemy accuses Lebanese citizens and officials and disavows responsibility for this heinous crime. If the investigation remains secret, then what we fear most is that the world will believe the Israeli allegations. We demand that the investigation be made public, as has been done in Israel. Publication of the investigation in Israel is a condemnation of Israel and its publication in Lebanon might absolve us.

"Fifth, the movement is saddened by the assassination of the eminent ulema from the Hakim family in Iraq, condemns this heinous crime and appeals to the civilized world to reject these crimes against Muslim imams and ulema."

#### Parliamentary Committee's Decision

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 28 Jun 83 p 3

[Text] The Parliamentary Administration and Justice Committee has settled the clamor raised over the issue of the bill to amend the rent law. It has rejected the proposed changes and has decided to confine the urgent bill presented by the government to correcting the errors existing in the law and to clarifying its ambiguous points.

At noon yesterday, the committee held a session at Mansur Palace under the chairmanship of Deputy August Bakhus and in the presence of the following deputies: Ex-Prime Minister Rashid al-Sulh, Nasri al-Ma'luf, 'Abduh 'Uwaydat, Hasan al-Rifa'i, 'Ali al-Khalil, Jubran Tawq, Zahir al-Khatib, Salim al-Ma'luf, Fu'ad Tahini, Nadim Na'im, Louis Abu Sharaf, Edmond Rizq, Nazim al-Qadiri, Fu'ad Naffa', Subhi Yaghi, Rafiq Shahin, Talal al-Mar'ibi, Butrus Harb, 'Ali al-'Abdallah, Bashir al-A'war, Michel Ma'luli, Rene Mu'awwad and Anwar al-Sabah.

Rober Shaykhani, government representative and minister of justice and information; Hassan Fakhuri, representative of the Ministry of Finance; and Jubran Mansur, chairman of the Legislation Department at the Ministry of Justice, also attended the session.

Parliamentary sources have pointed out that the deputies present rejected the amendments unanimously out of the conviction that it is not permissible to amend the will of the Chamber [of Deputies], which had approved the rent law, especially since only a brief period, not exceeding 1 year, has passed since that approval. Minister Shaykhani defended the amendments in the bill, justifying them on the basis of a desire to encourage construction for leasing and to develop confidence among landlords.

#### Committee Resolutions

At the conclusion of the session, Bakhus said that the committee members held consultations on the rent law amendments and agreed on the following:

First, the invalidity of the 40-day period of grace, thus making it possible for the government to publish the bill by decree (relying on article 115 of the bylaws, which asserts that the 40-day period does not start until the bill is presented to the chamber at its first session after receiving it).

Second, the committee adopted the following resolution: The Administration and Justice Committee, convening on Monday, 27 June, after perusing the bill presented in the decree pertaining to amendment of the rent law and after discussion, resolves:

1. To reject every amendment contained in the bill and affecting the basic principles established by the law in force.
2. To confine its examination of the bill to what is substantive error and requiring emendation of what is ambiguous and requiring elucidation.
3. To form a minicommittee to perform this duty within the limits set above.
4. To appoint a committee under the chairmanship of August Bakhus, chairman of the Administration and Justice Committee, and with the following deputies as members: Nazim al-Qadiri, Nasri al-Ma'luf, 'Abduh 'Uwaydat, Edmond Rizq, Butrus Harb, Mahmud 'Ammar, Nadim Na'im and Fu'ad Naffa', in addition to Roger Shaykhani, the minister of justice, or whomever he delegates.

This committee will meet next Monday morning to begin its task.

#### Shaykhani Expresses Reservations

Minister Shaykhani said: "I have familiarized myself with the opinions of the committee members. Even though I have some legal reservations, I will convey the opinions I have heard and the resolution adopted to the Council of Ministers and the government will then take whatever action it deems appropriate. Meanwhile, I stress the importance of the legislative authority, which alone



has the right to approve laws in accordance with the Lebanese Constitution, keeping in mind that every issue is ultimately presented to the full membership of the Chamber of Deputies."

Deputy Zahir al-Khatib expressed the belief that "most of the people's factions, segments, leaders and social organizations view the bill to amend the rent law--with all the essential amendments it contains--as a social catastrophe that does not solve the housing problem but rather exacerbates it. The bill must be rejected even before it is discussed because it wipes out rights that tenants have gained and undermines social and housing stability under the canopy of the intensifying emigration crisis."

After listing the dangers of the bill, Deputy al-Khatib said that "what is important is to reject all the amendments contained in the bill because it is tantamount to an act of legal eviction."

The deputy also expressed the view that "the gains made by the tenant masses since 1925 should be maintained and developed within the framework of a comprehensive housing plan that solves the problems of the evacuees and of the tenants."

Lawyer Munir Najib Haddad reiterated his proposal, which calls on the state to assist the elderly tenant to enable him to own the apartment in which he lives.

George al-Hajj, secretary of the Joint Committee for Defending Tenants' Rights, said that the "Administration and Justice Committee should send the bill back to the government as long as the objective of the amendment is to correct substantive errors."

Al-Hajj supported the Administration and Justice Committee's recommendation that the amendment be confined to factual errors, asserting that "the Committee for Defending Tenants' Rights supports this position, provided that the Chamber of Deputies in its full membership returns the bill in its entirety and waits only for the substantive errors to be rephrased."

Tawfiq al-Safadi, chairman of the Central National Committee for Evacuees, rejected the amendment bill "because it entrenches the landlord's exploitation and empowers him to regain his property at the expense of the tenant and the evacuee for the cheapest price."

Al-Safadi urged the government to withdraw the bill for amendment of the rent law and urged the Chamber of Deputies to return the bill to the government. He also called for the "adoption and expedient implementation of a housing plan for people with limited income and for the evacuees and for a frank decision requiring the government and the judiciary and security agencies to stop the massacres committed in pursuit and oppression of the evacuees."

INDUSTRIALISTS CALL FOR STEPS TO ACHIEVE REVITALIZATION

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 25 Jun 83 p 7

[Article: "Association Carries Industrialists' Concerns and Demands to al-Wazzan; Abi Salih: From Stagnation to Collapse"]

[Text] A delegation of the Lebanese Industrialists Association yesterday carried the industrialists' concerns and demands to Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan. The delegation included Dr Fu'ad Abi Salih, association chairman; Joseph Ghurrah and Ra'if Qasim, deputy chairmen, Najib al-Khatib, secretary general; Garbis Markarian, treasurer; and Nabil al-Ladhiqi, executive secretary.

After reviewing the problems being experienced by the industrial sector--problems that have intensified as a result of the prevailing stagnation--the delegation presented the following memorandum to Prime Minister al-Wazzan:

The Lebanese Industrialists Association, in its eagerness to bolster the efforts seeking to determine the causes of the economic stagnation being experienced by the country and to contribute to efforts to eliminate these causes and speed up the wheel of Lebanese economic development is honored to express the following to your excellency:

The association believes that the industrial situation needs to be dealt with in an immediate and fundamental manner that seeks to develop a balanced production, competition and marketing atmosphere. In our opinion, this requires adoption of urgent steps aimed at:

Limiting the rise in production costs due to causes beyond the industrialist's control;

Insuring the industrial establishments' ability to compete legitimately in a sound economic situation; and

Providing financial liquidity to the industrial establishments on soft terms that will enable these establishments to overcome the crisis.

To achieve this, the association believes that it is necessary to adopt the following urgent measures:



1. Reduce bank interest rates.
2. Reduce energy prices, especially of electrical energy, within the framework of the principles adopted before 1976.
3. Put an immediate end to [market] flooding, regardless of its source.
4. Reexamine the special customs fees and adjust them to be compatible with inflation. This is because the fee levied before the events for the purpose of securing protection within 20 percent of value, for example, totals now, with the rise in the prices of goods, no more than 5 percent of value at best.
5. Control the importation subject to advance permits.
6. Reduce port fees.

On the other hand, the association wishes to point out that the difficulties facing non-Lebanese businessmen accustomed to personally shopping in Lebanon in getting entry visas have prompted these businessmen to turn away from Lebanese markets to other sources. While appreciating the motives that make the departments concerned strict about granting entry visas into Lebanon, the association deems it necessary to reconsider these measures and to empower Lebanese embassies and consulates abroad to grant entry permits quickly while observing the conditions that guarantee verification of the applicant's identity and profession.

The measures proposed above, in our view, would help break the wave of economic stagnation generally and of industrial stagnation in particular. The Lebanese Industrialists Association puts all its resources at the regime's disposal in any manner you deem fit to achieve this goal so that a complete industrial development plan may be formulated.

We hope that this matter will be given your excellency's direct attention.

After the meeting, Abi Salih stated: "The industrialists' demands have become well known and have been reiterated frequently. We focused with his excellency the prime minister today on discussing the demands concerning the industrial sector, which is now heading from stagnation toward collapse. We have felt that the prime minister is aware of and strongly concerned with this problem and is exerting efforts with the departments concerned to confront it. But it seems that the security and political circumstances are so complex that they draw the major part of the state's attention and this makes it impossible to devote enough attention to social and economic problems.... His excellency has promised to devote sufficient attention and to instruct the agencies concerned to cooperate with the Industrialists Association in all that is necessary to facilitate businessmen's affairs.

"We also complain of the situation existing between Lebanon and Egypt and the failure to implement the trade agreement concluded between the two countries, especially since Lebanon is, on its part, implementing this agreement, whereas

Egypt is disregarding its implementation. We will be compelled, regrettably, to do what Jordan did when Egypt failed to implement the agreement concluded with it, namely, to abrogate the agreement unilaterally. Continuation of the present situation with Egypt will, regrettably, force us to suspend enactment of the agreement."

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DECREES GOVERNING HOLDING, OFFSHORE COMPANIES ISSUED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 29 Jun 83 pp 7, 12

[Article: "Regulations Governing Holding and Offshore Companies as Issued in Two Legislative Decrees"]

[Text] Legislative decree No 45, dated 24 June 1983 and containing the regulations governing holding companies, has been issued. Here is the text:

Article I. The name "holding company" shall apply to the companies defined in this legislative decree.

The phrase "holding company" shall be stated clearly next to the company's name in all papers, advertisements, pamphlets and other documents issued by the company.

Article II. The activity of such a company shall be confined to the following:

1. It may own shares or stocks in joint-stock or limited-liability companies, both existing Lebanese or foreign companies or companies in whose foundation the holding company participates.
2. It may manage companies in which it is a partner or a shareholder.
3. It may advance loans to companies in which it is a partner or a shareholder and act as guarantor for such companies with others. For this purpose, a holding company may borrow from the banks and may issue loan bonds in accordance with the provisions of article 122 and the subsequent articles of the trade law, provided that the total sum of the bonds issued at any time does not exceed the capital of the holding company plus its reserves, according to its latest approved budget.

A holding company may not lend to a company operating in Lebanon if the holding company's share in such a company's capital is less than 20 percent.

4. It may own invention and discovery patents, concessions and registered trademarks and other reserved rights and lease them to establishments existing inside or outside Lebanon.

5. It may own movable or immovable assets, provided that they are designated for its activities, taking into consideration the provisions of the law governing the acquisition of in-kind property rights in Lebanon by non-Lebanese citizens.

Article III. A holding company shall be banned from engaging in any activity beyond its subject as defined specifically in the preceding article.

Article IV. A holding company may not own directly more than 40 percent of two companies engaged in the same industrial, commercial or noncommercial activity in Lebanon if such ownership is liable to violate the restrictions imposed in article I of legislative decree No 32 of 15 August 1967. The provisions of this article shall not apply to investments outside Lebanon.

Article V. Holding companies shall be founded in the form of joint-stock companies and shall be governed by the provisions governing the joint-stock companies in all matters not conflicting with the provisions of this legislative decree, with the following exceptions:

1. The company's capital may be set in a foreign currency and the company's accounts may be kept and its budget may be organized in the currency in which the capital is set.
2. It is enough for a holding company's board of directors to include two natural Lebanese persons. The company's board of directors chairman will not need a work permit if he is a non-Lebanese who does not live in Lebanon.
3. The company's main office must be in Lebanon where the legal records and the company's documents are kept. However, the board of directors and general assembly meetings may be held outside Lebanon if the company's bylaws so stipulate.

The ordinary annual general assembly must be held in Lebanon within no more than 5 months after the end of the fiscal year as defined by the company's bylaws.

4. The company shall appoint at least one chief control officer residing in Lebanon and having Lebanese citizenship. His appointment may be for a period of 3 years and the company shall be relieved from the requirement of appointing an additional control officer.
5. The company shall be registered in the general trade register in accordance with the provisions of the trade law. A register shall be established in the Beirut Lower Court for holding companies and it shall include the data and information that the law requires joint-stock companies to make public. Upon registering in the said special register, the company shall provide a lease contract on the place in which it will engage in its activities or a document proving its ownership of the place. The company may also use a place of residence chosen in Lebanon, with written approval from the natural or legal-status person at whose place it takes up its residence.

6. Contrary to the provisions of article 101 of the trade law, the company may content itself with publishing the annual fiscal budget, the names of the members of the board of directors and of the control officers in the special trade register for the holding companies.

7. A holding company shall be required to keep account audit records, present annual fiscal statements and permits and pay taxes due to the financial department concerned with income tax in accordance with the legal provisions governing joint-stock companies on all matters not in conflict with the provisions of this legislative decree. A fine of 50,000 Lebanese pounds, in addition to the taxes due, shall be levied on any company that fails to present its statement on time.

Article VI. Holding companies shall be exempted from income tax (section one) on their profits. The disbursements that the companies make shall also be exempted from income tax levied on revenues from movable assets.

Holding companies shall continue to be subject to the following:

A. The interest collected in return for lending companies operating in Lebanon shall be subject to the income tax applied to the revenues from movable assets.

B. The appreciation profit resulting from the company's divesting itself of its fixed assets in Lebanon and of its shares and stocks in Lebanese companies shall be subject to the income tax stipulated in article 45 of the income tax law. Excluded from this tax shall be appreciation profits resulting from the holding company's divesting itself of assets, shares and stocks in companies located outside Lebanon.

C. The sums collected by a holding company from the companies it controls in Lebanon in return for management costs and services shall be subject to a 12-percent income tax, provided that these costs do not exceed a certain limit set by a decree issued on the recommendation of the minister of finance.

D. The revenues earned by the holding companies as a result of leasing their invention patents and other rights to Lebanese companies shall be subject to a 25-percent income tax, with no other additions attached.

E. A holding company shall be subject to a set annual tax of 1.5 parts per 1,000 of its total capital and reserves, provided that this total does not exceed 20 million Lebanese pounds. This tax rate shall be reduced to 1 per 1,000 for sums ranging from 20-50 million Lebanese pounds and to .5 per 1,000 for sums exceeding 50 million Lebanese pounds, provided that the total tax does not exceed 100,000 Lebanese pounds. This tax shall be applied to a holding company as of the first fiscal year, regardless of the length of that year.

F. Taxes owed by the company shall be paid on one installment upon presentation of the statement of activity and during the period of grace set for the purpose. A fine of .5 percent per 1,000 shall be added for every day of delay in making the payment.



Article VII. In case a holding company violates the provisions of article III of this legislative decree, it shall become subject, for the year in which the violation is committed, either to the income tax applied to the securities companies operating in Lebanon, plus a fine of 20 percent of the original tax, or a fine of 3 parts per 1,000 of the company's original capital, plus reserves, whichever is higher.

Article VIII. If a holding company violates the provisions of article IV of this legislative decree, it shall be subject to the penalties stipulated in legislative decree No 32 of 15 August 1967 governing the control of monopolies and inflation.

Article IX. Companies founded in Lebanon before the issuance of this legislative decree and already engaged in holding companies activities shall be granted a grace period of 6 months to meet the requirements stipulated in this legislative decree and to register in the special holding companies register stipulated in paragraph 5 of article V of this legislative decree. Should these companies fail to settle their affairs during the said period, they shall remain subject to the tax in force.

Article X. All provisions contained in the laws in force shall apply to holding companies on all matters that are not in conflict with the provisions of this legislative decree.

Article XI. When necessary, the details of enacting this legislative decree shall be defined by decrees issued by the Council of Ministers on the recommendation of the minister of finance.

Article XII. This legislative decree shall become operative on the day following its publication in the Official Gazette.

#### Offshore Companies

Legislative decree No 46 of 24 June 1983, containing regulations governing the companies whose activity is confined outside of Lebanon (offshore companies), has also been issued. Here is the text:

Article I. This legislative decree shall apply to Lebanese joint-stock companies engaged specifically in the following activities:

1. Negotiating and concluding contracts and agreements pertaining to operations and transactions conducted outside Lebanon and pertaining to goods existing outside Lebanon or in the free customs zone.
2. Using the facilities available in the free customs zone to store goods for the purpose of reexportation, leasing offices in Lebanon and owning the property necessary for their activities, provided that the law governing foreign ownership of in-kind real estate property in Lebanon is taken into consideration.



3. Conducting studies and providing consultation to be used outside Lebanon at the request of establishments residing outside Lebanon.

Article II. Companies defined in this legislative decree shall be prohibited from engaging in industry, banking activities, insurance or holding activities and from engaging in any commercial activity inside Lebanese territory, with the exception of the activities noted in article I of this decree. These companies shall also be prohibited from earning any profits or revenues from movable or immovable assets existing in Lebanon or from services rendered to establishments existing in Lebanon, with the exception of the revenues from their bank accounts.

Article III. These companies shall be subject to the provisions governing joint-stock companies in all matters not conflicting with the provisions of this legislative decree, with the following exceptions:

1. An offshore company's bylaws must state that it is impermissible for it to engage in any activity other than those stated in article I of this legislative decree.

2. All of the banking accounts of these companies shall be subject to the provisions of the law published in decree No 9976 of 1 April 1975 and to the regulatory provisions issued in accordance with this law. These accounts may be calculated in Lebanese pounds.

3. The company may keep its accounts in the foreign currencies it uses in its transactions.

4. It is sufficient for the company's board of directors to include at least two Lebanese natural persons. The chairman of the board of directors does not need a work permit if he is a non-Lebanese who does not reside in Lebanon.

5. The company shall not be subject to the requirement stipulated in article 62 of the law governing the legal profession, unless its capital exceeds 1 million Lebanese pounds.

6. The company shall appoint at least one main control officer residing in Lebanon and bearing Lebanese citizenship. He may be appointed for a period of 3 years. The company shall be exempted from having to appoint an additional control officer.

7. The company shall be registered in the general commercial register in accordance with the provisions of the trade law. A special register shall be established at the Beirut Lower Court for the companies defined in this legislative decree. These companies shall include in the register the data and information that the law requires joint-stock companies to make public. The company, upon registering in the said special register, must present a bank guarantee issued by one of the banks accredited in Lebanon and totaling 100,000 pounds. This guarantee shall be renewed automatically in order to insure the company's fulfillment of its obligations to the state and its abidance by the provisions of this legislative decree.

8. Contrary to the provisions of article 101 of the trade law, the company may be content with publishing the fiscal year budget and the names of the board members of the board of directors and of the control officer in the special register noted in the preceding paragraph.

9. The company shall be required to keep audit records, present annual financial statements and permits and pay the taxes it owes to the financial department concerned with income tax in accordance with the legal provisions governing joint-stock companies in all matters not conflicting with the provisions of this legislative decree. A monthly fine of 5,000 Lebanese pounds shall be levied on the company that is late in presenting the legal permit and the taxes it owes.

Article IV. The company shall be exempted from income tax and be subjected instead to a set annual tax amounting to 10,000 Lebanese pounds paid directly to the finance department concerned with the income tax. This tax shall apply to the company as of the first fiscal year, regardless of its length.

Article V. The contracts concluded by the company in Lebanon and pertaining to the company's activities abroad shall be exempted from revenue fees.

Article VI. The share profits distributed by the company shall be exempted from the income tax levied on the revenues of movable capital.

Article VII. The appreciation profit resulting from the company's divesting itself of its immovable assets in Lebanon shall be subject to the tax stipulated in article 45 of the income tax law.

Article VIII. The salaries and wages of the company's employees shall be subject to section two tax of the income tax law. Thirty percent of the basic salary of the company's foreign employees shall be considered an expense allowance not subject to the tax on salaries and wages.

Article IX. Taxes imposed on the company shall be made in one payment upon disclosure of the year's activities and in the period set for the purpose. A fine of .5 parts per 1,000 shall be added for each day's delay.

Article X. In case the company violates the provisions of article II of this legislative decree, it shall become subject, for the year in which the violation is committed, to the income tax applied to the securities companies operating in Lebanon plus a fine of 50 percent of the value of the tax.

Article XI. The companies defined in this law shall be subject to the provisions of all the laws in force that are not in conflict with the provisions of this decree.

Article XII. When necessary, the details for implementing this legislative decree shall be defined by decrees issued by the Council of Ministers on the recommendation of the minister of finance.

Article XIII. This legislative decree shall go into force as of the day following its publication in the Official Gazette.

PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY CRITICIZES CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 23 Jun 83 p 4

[Article: "Progressive Party: Does Lifting Immunity Imply Plan To Build Partisan Administration?"]

[Text] The Progressive Socialist Party believes that the most serious aspect of the legislative decree issued by the government lifting immunity from civil servants "is that its special measures include civil servants of all groups, grades and ranks."

In a statement distributed yesterday, the party asked: "Does this mean that there is an undeclared Phalangist plan to build the new administration from top to bottom according to certain partisan and sectarian specifications? The appointments made so far at the level of general directors and chairmen of boards of directors do not encourage us to believe that the expected appointments and transfers will not be totally similar."

The statement adds: "The Lebanese reject the one-party, one-color and we can say, almost one-family administration. The government is required to understand the seriousness of this issue. The disavowal of responsibility, which we know more than one minister will master in the future to absolve himself of this friend's blood, will not do anybody any good."

The party has warned "of the danger of implementing this decree, whose misimplementation is feared by thousands of civil servants who are greatly concerned over their future and the future of their families."

The statement wonders: "Why does the new legislative decree permit high school teachers to move into the public administration whereas the law governing the Ministry of Education itself prohibits the high school teacher from holding any administrative position except in his own ministry? Is the answer to this question the whispering that is going on in more than one place to the effect that more than 300 Phalangist high school teachers have been mysteriously transferred to administrative positions outside their ministry?"

The party has stressed that "a decree of such importance and impact on the future of the public administration should not have been approved by the government before the Central Inspection [Department] and the Civil Service Commission could conduct investigations and studies on civil servants' affairs

with the purpose of punishing violators and graft-takers and dismissing them from their jobs and of rewarding those who have enhanced and carried out their duties in the best manner possible.... Implementing the decree without taking this essential and fair step puts the honorable and capable civil servants on an equal footing with the violators and the negligent, and this can achieve neither the homeland's nor the citizens' interest."

The party believes, finally, that "opening up freedom of resignation in this manner and threatening those who do not resign with future dismissal exposes the public administration to losing its best and most capable civil servants."

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# MILITARY SITUATION IN BIQA' ANALYZED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 174, 11-17 Jun 83 pp 10-12

[Article by Ilyas Harfush: "The Israeli--Syrian Confrontation is at Hand, and Lebanon Will Remain Occupied and Divided; The Russians Will Intervene if Israel Makes War on Syria, and the Americans Cannot Give Syria What it Wants to Withdraw From Lebanon."]

[Text] Military observers and analysts describe the situation along the lines of confrontation between the Syrian and Israeli forces in the Biqa' by saying it resembles a "military relaxation." This relaxation follows the conclusion of the maneuvers conducted by Syria's forces last week. Diplomatic reports indicate that Damascus stopped its maneuvers a week early at the request of the Soviets. According to these reports, the Soviet request said that: "these maneuvers have created a state of alarm in the region, and they could lead to a direct confrontation at an inappropriate time."

Although available information concerning military movements speaks of Israel having begun to withdraw the forces it sent up during the Syrian maneuvers, there is still an atmosphere of tension in the Biqa' region which threatens to spread at any time, especially following the clashes which took place at the end of last week near the city of Ba'lbak.

Observers fear a large-scale explosion might occur which would encompass the two great powers this time, if the atmosphere of tension in the Biqa' should lead to an Israeli--Syrian confrontation.

The British newspaper THE TIMES mentioned in a commentary on this situation that: "the results of such a confrontation would be dangerous in the extreme. Even during the 1973 war, when American--Soviet detente was at its height, the Middle East crisis almost led to the use of nuclear weapons. Given current international tensions, a crisis of this type might be difficult to contain."

AL-MAJALLAH, in this investigation, tries to throw light on the possibilities and probabilities associated with war breaking out between Syria and Israel, as well as the choices facing the two great powers with respect to the Lebanese crisis and the Middle East crisis in general. In order to do this, AL-MAJALLAH met with two prominent experts, Dr Robert O'Neil, director of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, and Dr 'Adid Duwaysha, deputy director of the Royal Institute for International Affairs. The two agree that



the danger of a direct confrontation is slight, but that the results to be expected with regard to Lebanon's situation and future are very serious. The investigation and the views of the two experts follow:

Despite extant signs of military preparedness between Israel and Syria on the confrontation lines in Lebanon, strategic experts and analysts of the region's affairs and events do not think that war between the two countries is the only choice they have. These experts agree that both Syria and Israel want to avoid war, and that neither country opposes the continued presence of their forces in Lebanon, with all that means for the political future of Lebanon.

Dr Robert O'Neil is the director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. This institute is world famous in the area of research and studies on the Middle East and other regions of tension in the world. In an exclusive interview with AL-MAJALLAH, O'Neil said: "I don't think war is possible or realistic in the short run. However, if no solution is found to the Palestinian question in the long run, which is to say during the next 5 years, then it will be difficult to prevent the occurrence of a new war in the Middle East. However, this war would require a change in the extant balance of power, in order to become a realistic possibility. Israel is in a very powerful position from the military point of view, and it realizes this. Confrontation is currently limited to Israel and Syria. Therefore, I do not think that Syria wants to undertake operations that could justify an Israeli attack against it. Moreover, I do not believe the Israelis either want a fight with Syria right now or are ready to launch the kind of protective strikes they used to. Nor do I think that Israel and Syria are dissatisfied with the current situation in Lebanon, with their forces present in various parts of that country. The two countries are not opposed to staying in Lebanon."

[Question] Can the Israelis tolerate the war of attrition being waged against their forces in Lebanon? What alternatives and choices do they have in confronting this situation, given that war is not a viable option?

[Answer] The Israelis do not want a war of attrition, but they prefer it to launching a large-scale war against Syria. War places Israel in a difficult position, and this is what caused the current worrying in Israel concerning the possible outbreak of war.

The Israelis will find themselves confronting a very important question: What would the situation be like if they launched an attack against Syria? Would such an attack solve the problem? The answer is, not at the present time. They cannot go and occupy all of Syria. As long as Syria is capable of resistance, this war of attrition will continue. It is no longer easy, now that the Soviets have reinforced their forces and influence in Syria, for Israel to launch a direct attack on Syria, without such an attack leading to a confrontation with the Soviets. With regard to Israel, the question is what is the worst of the available choices? O'Neil believes that Israel thinks that the current situation, with all its negative aspects with regard to Israel, is still better than launching a new war which would affect Israel's international standing. Israel lost a lot of support in the West due to the invasion of Lebanon. This invasion caused a swing in world public opinion, which no longer sees in Israel the victim state in the Middle East. Rather, it is now the

aggressor state in the eyes of the world. If Israel were to launch an attack against Syria now, much criticism would be heard, even in the United States and in Israel itself. Quite simply, the Israelis must live with the domestic crisis which their invasion of Lebanon created.

### The Balance of Power

On the other hand, Dr Robert O'Neil doesn't think Syria is prepared to go to war, either, in the current circumstances. The Syrians know what the balance of power between the two countries is. If the Syrians begin a military operation, they will be giving Israel a justification to respond in force, which could expose Syria to great losses. As for Syrian-Soviet relations and the extent to which the Soviet Union is ready to participate in a war for the defense of Syria, O'Neil does not believe that ties between the two countries are as solid as observers think. He describes these relations as being merely a "marriage of convenience": the Soviets want to maintain their position in Syria, which they consider one of their last positions in the Middle East, while the Syrians, for their part, want to get weapons. The only place they can do that is the Soviet Union. The Soviet--Syrian "marriage," according to O'Neil, is a short-term affair. Neither does he believe that the Soviets themselves want to see military operations in the region in which their men could get ensnared in. The one situation, in O'Neil's opinion, in which the Soviets could get bogged down in a war, would be if Israel made war against Syria. It is then that quick, decisive Soviet intervention would occur. For the Soviets are setting up their bases around the SAM missile batteries, in addition to running the low-altitude, anti-aircraft defense systems stationed around these missiles. The SAM missiles are of the long-range variety, and so it would be impossible for Israel to launch an attack against Syria without dealing with these missiles first.

At that point, the Soviets would intervene. If Soviet intervention were to occur, it would be limited to Syria. The Soviets have advisors and experts in Lebanon and do not need anything more, given the current circumstances. Moreover, the Syrians are keeping a good grip on the situation in Lebanon.

### America's Role

[Question] Can the Americans give such assurances to Syria that it will pull out of Lebanon? Can an American--Lebanese--Syrian agreement similar to the one with Israel be reached?

[Answer] Dr O'Neil's reply: "I do not believe that the Americans can give Syria what it wants in order to withdraw. Moreover, I do not think that the Americans had much hope that the Syrians would withdraw from Lebanon, merely because of the signing of the Lebanese--Israeli agreement. From America's vantage point, it is hard to see the real motive that will make Syria go along with this agreement. The situation in the Arab world in general and in Syria in particular, let alone Israel's inflexible policy, make Syria more intransigent vis-a-vis America's suggestions and proposals. Quite simply, the Americans cannot pressure Israel concerning the political matters which Syria is demanding be addressed, such as the Golan question and the Israeli security guarantees

in the south of Lebanon. Therefore, America cannot give the Syrians the guarantees they want. On the other hand, the Syrians think that their positions in the Biqa' are essential for the defense of themselves and their security, in the aftermath of Israel's gains in southern Lebanon."

These are the effects of this situation on the Lebanese scene, in the view of the director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies: in the coming period, Lebanon will remain a country divided into northern and southern sections by the occupations of the Syrian and Israeli troops. However, the current situation does give the Lebanese government a chance to take a breath, insofar as the domestic situation is concerned, especially in the parts of Beirut and its suburbs which it controls. However, this opportunity is exposed to complications, such as the government's loss of the necessary and sufficient harmony it needs to maintain its authority within the sector it controls, though there might not be any evidence of that currently. Dr Robert O'Neil does not think there is a real chance of Israel annexing southern Lebanon, since, if Israel did that, it would return the problem to where it was before the invasion of Lebanon last summer. That is, it would once again expose its citizens and settlements to Palestinian and Syrian fire. Israel prefers to maintain the security region in the south as a buffer zone between the Palestinian and Syrian lines and its northern settlements.

#### Duwayshah's Opinion

Dr 'Adid Duwaysha, deputy director of the Royal Institute for International Affairs, thinks that the continuing Israeli presence in the south (the security region) will mean that Syria will not withdraw either from the areas it controls in the north and the Biqa'. Consequently, there will be a real division of Lebanon. Duwayshah thinks that it is Israel who profits in all possible scenarios. If it withdraws, it will still have the guarantees which it gained through the agreement with Lebanon. If it does not withdraw, then it will have a chance to put pressure on Lebanon and its policy through the presence of Israeli troops on Lebanese soil. Duwayshah believes that the first step in the direction of the division of Lebanon will be a unilateral, limited Israeli withdrawal from the mountains. He says Israel's withdrawal to the Awali river to the north of Sidon will lead to an Israeli occupation of this region for a long time, as well as the construction of military fortifications and the erection of settlements there. This region, which extends 45 kilometers deep inside Lebanese territory, will become Israel's "North Bank." Duwayshah thinks that the Lebanese government must do everything in its power and make use of American mediation in order to prevent Israel from carrying out this unilateral withdrawal.

Dr Duwayshah agrees with the director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Dr O'Neil, that the probability of a military confrontation between Syria and Israel is slight, despite the appearances of confrontation between the forces of the two countries in the Biqa'. He thinks both countries' forces will stay in their present positions, and that this will result in the real division of Lebanon. Duwayshah analyzes his own point of view by saying: "If we look at the military calculations rationally, then the chance of war is slight. Syria's military situation is weak. The guarantees given by the Soviet Union to Syria do not concern the defense of Syria's security. However, this is not

to say the Soviet Union would not become involved along with Syria in a confrontation in Lebanon. In reality, the Soviet Union's involvement and commitment next to Syria do lessen the chances of confrontation, contrary to what some people believe. This is because of the Soviets' caution in the face of the danger of a large-scale international confrontation. The Israelis, for their part, know that any confrontation with Syria would lead this time to a confrontation with the Soviets, and this has a deterrent effect on the Israeli military operation."

In Dr Duwayshah's opinion, the Lebanese government and the American negotiations erred in keeping Syria out of the negotiations from the start. Duwayshah says that the Americans' failure during the negotiations to take into account Syria's positions and interests confirms their ignorance and naivete in dealing with Middle Eastern issues. As for the "price" which Syria could accept for agreeing to withdraw from Lebanon, Duwayshah thinks that any agreement between Lebanon and Syria must take into account the dimensions of the Arab--Israeli conflict in general. This translates into the Golan and the need for America's confirmation that it and the security guarantees on all Syrian--Israeli--Lebanese borders have a place in negotiations for a comprehensive settlement. In addition, Syria's positions on relations between Lebanon and Israel must be taken into consideration.

Duwayshah discusses Syria's position on the agreement between Lebanon and Israel and the dangers which it poses for Syria. He says: "The Syrians can be obliging concerning the ending of the state of war between Lebanon and Israel, either through an implicit understanding or a written agreement, because they know that Lebanon was not a major actor and real participant in the Arab--Israeli wars. However, any further normalization of relations between the two countries, whether on the level of economics, politics or tourism, cannot be accepted by the Syrians." Duwayshah thinks that an American promise to the Syrians concerning the Golan would not be enough, since what the Syrians want is for Lebanon not to be changed into an "Israeli protectorate," because that would harm Syria's security. The Syrians want to get from America an agreement which would let their point of view concerning the Arab--Israeli conflict to win out. That is, the Syrians cannot possibly accept the Lebanese--Israeli agreement in its current form. This agreement grants Israel security guarantees in the south which threaten Syria, and makes of the Lebanese army and all the other forces present in or outside of the security zone instruments in the service of Israel's security guarantees and goals in that region for a long time to come. Duwayshah finishes by saying that the Syrians will not withdraw from Lebanon if their conditions are not met. The Soviet Union supports them in that position, because Syria is the Soviets' last position in the Middle East. The Soviets' military assurances to Syria go as far as direct participation in replying to any aggression against Syrian territory.

#### A Pessimistic View

The director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Dr Robert O'Neil, summarized his view of developments in the situation in the Middle East in pessimistic terms in his interview with AL-MAJALLAH: "I do not see any way out of the current impasse. I see the conflict growing fiercer. Israel will

continue along its path of controlling the West Bank. The possibility of a settlement between Israel and the Palestinians grows dimmer day by day. Arab military preparations will need a long time and will remain insufficient as long as Egypt is outside the field of combat. At the same time, Israel will increase its military power in such a way that it will be difficult to achieve a strategic balance of forces in the region. Although I do not expect a direct confrontation between Syria and Israel in the short run, the Middle East crisis will continue for a long time, during which limited acts of violence and a war of attrition Israel will have to confront are possible. In conclusion, the problem has no real solution in the foreseeable future."

12224

CSO: 4404/499



PROGRESSIVE SOCIALISTS HIT METHODS USED TO REBUILD ARMED FORCES

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 29 Jun 83 p 3

[Article: "Progressive Party Answers Statements Attributed to Tannus; Experiment Conducted So Far in Army Has Failed To Achieve Majority's Ambition"]

[Text] A source in the Progressive Socialist Party yesterday responded to the interview attributed to Gen Ibrahim Tannus, the army commander, by Radio Europe-1.

The source supported President Amin al-Jumayyil's statements to the effect that the army will not be reduced to factional struggles and is from all and for all, adding: But we regret to say that the experiment conducted so far in the army has failed to fulfill the hopes of the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese for the rebuilding of Lebanon on a firm basis of equality.

The source added:

"The newspaper AL-'AMAL in its edition of 6 June 1983 published excerpts from a statement made by Gen Ibrahim Tannus, the army commander, to Radio Europe-1 in which he dealt with the direction followed in rebuilding the armed forces and the difficulties of this task.

"The statement includes a paragraph noting General Tannus' concern for the army to be the common denominator for all Lebanese factions and sects and the embodiment of the trust and unity of all at which we must pause for explanation and correction. The paragraph, as published by AL-'AMAL, says verbatim: 'In reply to a question on the concept of the new army, General Tannus said: Before anything else, we must plant trust between the Christian, the Druze, the Sunni and the Shi'ite. I know that this is 10 times easier between Christian and Sunni than it is between Christian and Druze or Shi'ite and Druze. However, he will succeed. We must continue at any price the wager started by President Amin al-Jumayyil. All these young men must feel that the Lebanese Army is their army.' The general then adds: 'The concept of trust and unity must determine the army's entire conduct. The common denominator among all the sects is this need to feel protected by the army.'

"There are several observations and questions concerning this paragraph, and we will sum them up as follows:

"1. First of all, the regime, and the army command in particular, must explain what has been said in this statement. It is important to know if the published text is correct and accurate or if it has been distorted.

"In any case, the published text needs to be discussed and explained.

"2. The statement that trust between Christian and Sunni is 10 times easier than between Christian and Druze or Shi'ite and Druze is a serious statement that should not have been made by the commander of the body whose role is restoring unity among the Lebanese the regime is constantly spurring. Moreover, the statement is in conflict with one of the provisions of legislative decree No 1, which prohibits whatever is likely to provoke sectarian sensitivities.

"3. Speaking of the Christians, with their three main sects (Maronites, Orthodox and Catholic) as if they were a single and united group and depicting the three main Islamic factions (Sunni, Shi'ite and Druze) as if they are divided and discordant is something that, under the especially delicate circumstances now existing in Lebanon, contains significant dimensions and indications that are incompatible with what the regime declares concerning its eagerness to restore national unity. We should note that the contradictions and distinctions in the interests and positions of the three Christian sects are, frequently, stronger than they are among the three Islamic sects. It is unnecessary to cite examples, even though we have many of them.

"4. The Mount Lebanon war, fabricated by a faction belonging to a certain sect on the instigation of Israel, may have created tension between the Druze and some Maronites. But this is a transient matter that will vanish with the end of the actions of the Lebanese forces that led to this tension. But what is the wisdom of implying that there is hostility, which does not at all exist, between the Druze and the Shi'ites and what is the wisdom of depicting this hostility as being more deeprooted than the hostility between the Druze and the Christians, which is also a fabricated and impermanent hostility? On the other hand, this course accords with the goals of those who have an interest in depicting the Druze--who are one of the main pillars of this homeland--as a sect incompatible with other Lebanese sects, including the Islamic sects. This is no more than one of the dreams of the forces seeking to impose their sectarian control by force over the other sects comprising this country. We are confident that our brothers in the honorable Shi'ite sect are no less surprised than we are by the allegation that there is no trust between them and the Druze--an allegation that is divorced from both truth and reality.

"5. The issuance of this statement at a time when the Mount Lebanon war--a war imposed by the Lebanese Forces--is continuing does not encourage the objective referred to by General Tannus, namely, to make the army the common denominator among all sects and to turn the army's conduct into an element for restoring trust and unity among them.

"On the other hand, the above-mentioned statement by General Tannus says that 'the distribution of conscripts at the sectarian level will be 60 percent Muslims and 40 percent Christians. But this percentage will not necessarily remain the same and we will reach a time when we will attain a kind of equality.'

"As long as the talk is proceeding along the lines of the conscripts' sectarian affiliation, then there are important justifications for asking about the base General Tannus uses to attain equality between the number of Christian and Muslim conscripts and about what lies behind this aim. It is well known that enactment of the military service law overlooks the acknowledged tradition of dividing state jobs between Muslims and Christians equally because it is impossible by law to recruit proportionally more youths from one of the two Lebanese factions than this faction actually includes, considering that the number of Muslims or Christians in the army is something reflected by their respective populations at large. In light of this, the desire to achieve this equality is motivated by political aims summed up in the eagerness to achieve a numerical balance at a time when this balance is tangibly flawed at the level of the legislative and executive authorities and of interests and privileges.

"We support strongly and resolutely the numerous statements made by President Amin al-Jumayyil to the effect that the army will not support one faction against another and that it is from all and for all. The fact is that without this, it will be impossible to achieve the goal of reuniting the country's people, territory and institutions. But we regret to say that the experiment conducted so far has failed to embody the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese to rebuild Lebanon on a firm basis of full and careful equality in rights and duties among the members of all the sects and not to provide the opportunity for a faction belonging to a certain sect to monopolize power and influence and to dictate its will forcibly and coercively on the members of other sects. In other words, the dream of one of the factions to play the role of the 'white minority' controlling the fate of the members of the other sects and considering them 'a black majority' cannot succeed and can only lead to foiling the endeavors and efforts seeking to rebuild the homeland on strong and firm bases that will not be shaken by storms.

"We say, very regrettably, that the army's experience in the eastern part of greater Beirut and the army's method of dealing with those who have usurped the power of the legitimate government and with the militias who massacred the Druze in Dayr Durit and in al-Shuf deal severe blows to the citizens' aspirations to have an army that helps to fuse all Lebanese in a true unity that dispels the fears, insures safety and establishes full equality among all Lebanese."

8494

CSO: 4404/493

EDITORIAL HAILS TROOP WITHDRAWAL ACCORD, HITS DISSENTING VOICES

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 320, 20-26 Jun 83 p 15

[Editorial by Ilyas al-Dayri: "Between Two Accords and Two Lebanons"]

[Text] The Chamber of Deputies did well when in the name of the majority, and with historical responsibility, it said yes to the accord for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon. This yes, though not surprising or sudden, has contributed to a large and far-reaching degree to the resurgence of internal unity and political and national awareness. Even those who refrained, opposed or absented themselves, few as they are and for unacceptable reasons--even they have risen to the level for the democratic action that nowadays is the security valve and the shield protecting the people's unity and their coalescence behind the legitimate government and President Amin al-Jumayyil.

We are now passing through the most difficult and delicate phase of Lebanon's history since Lebanon was declared an independent country. Those who throw a monkey wrench into the spokes of the wheel of salvation, be they countrymen or evil men, will truly be sorry they have not had the honor to participate in and contribute to this adventure.

Therefore, we tell the detractors, the satirists and the professors of nationalism that we are not prepared to waste time, and our time is gold, listening to the descriptions, characterizations and feverish attacks they shower us with, not to mention their [claims of] heroism and bravery. We are also not prepared to reply, argue or interrupt. Let them act even more convulsively and tensely let them instigate the Lebanese as much as they can instigate and let them exhaust all the words and adjectives in all the dictionaries, because we have great confidence in our people and their vigilance and because we are no longer afraid of the instigation of the professors of nationalism or of their scheming and exaggeration.

The Lebanese in the north, in al-Biqa', in the south and in Mount Lebanon have said yes to the legitimate government, to the leadership and to the accord calling for liberating the homeland from the occupiers. They have said yes despite all the attempts and pressures they have been exposed to to prevent them from saying that they believe in and to show them as rejecting, opposing and rebelling.

Time has changed and those who do not believe in the changing times must pause before the Lebanese phenomenon that has become an example cited and a model followed. The past is gone, and gone with it is the Lebanese who used to turn his head and pay no attention to his mind. Gone also is especially that naive and simple Lebanese whose enthusiasm and zeal they exploited to achieve their ends and to ruin the small, fraternal and powerless homeland.

When the Cairo agreement was presented to the Chamber of Deputies for approval as an evil that could not be avoided, the deputies attended but agreement was absent behind a curtain of secrecy. Yet, the chamber approved in absentia [sic] and by a considerable majority. But even those who voted in support of the agreement and said yes verbally and with their hands did not actually approve and were not persuaded. Most of them said after the session that they wished the agreement did not exist. But the internal conditions, the 7-month crisis, the fraternal Arab pressures, the upsurge of support for the fedayeen action and the divisions were the influential factors that made us accept the inevitable evil, approve it officially and then say we wished it did not exist.

The situation with the Lebanese-Israeli accord is totally different in form, in content and in circumstances. The internal conditions prevailing on the eve of the Cairo agreement were totally different from the present conditions. The accord approved by the chamber this week is different from the agreement it approved 15 years ago. The Cairo agreement provided for the occupation of Lebanon by an armed group that has proven that it had been planning and working to demolish the mainstays of the state, fragment the constitutional institutions and paralyze the people's will in preparation for seizing the country. This group did achieve what it had planned and sought, and Lebanon was about to be lost finally were it not for the beautiful vigilance and for the return of awareness to minds and hearts. Meanwhile, the accord with Israel calls for the withdrawal of the foreign forces occupying our land and for the restoration of our country, our freedom and our dignity.

Therefore, the majority's yes this week has been tantamount to a rewriting of the birth certificate of Lebanon and, consequently, the birth of a Lebanese people exercising their national will, which tells the mountain to move and it moves.

It is not necessary, of course, to reiterate and reassert that we do not need advice, sermons and custodians who look down on us from ornamented towers and bless us with patriotic exhortations coupled with threats, mined vehicles and time bombs.

We know our country's interest well and certainly know what harms and what serves this interest. What serves it is to achieve the evacuation of the alien forces and occupiers as soon as possible and what harms this interest is to listen to the tense and high-pitched words that harbor for us more occupations and more oppression.



## BRIEFS

JAPANESE OIL DRILLING--Several Japanese companies will be drilling 10 exploratory oil wells in Oman. Four of them will be done by the Sekiyu Shigen Kaihatsu firm in the Wadi Aswan area beginning next September. Four others will be dug by the Nippon Sekiyu and Teikiyu group in the area of 'Affar beginning in October. The Sumitomo organization, in participation with ELF, will dig two wells in Saywan beginning in July 1983. [Text]  
[London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 291, 20 Jun 83 p 33] 7005

CSO: 4404/503

TOAHA DEFENDS SOVIET POSITION IN AFGHANISTAN

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 21 Jul 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Mr. Mohammad Toaha, Chairman, Bangladesher Sammyabadi Daj (ML) has said that Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan was necessitated to ensure socio-political changes against U.S. interference.

Coming strongly in defence of the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan Mr. Toaha said that it brought about what he called qualitative change in the life of Afghan people.

Addressing a press conference to reply to the allegations brought against him by Party General Secretary, Prof. Yakub Ali, Mr. Toaha equated the Soviet intervention with the international help during Spanish civil war to defend Spanish republican government.

He also told newsmen that his party does not consider the Soviet Union as "social imperialists which is being kept open for discussion to take a final decision at the next congress". In this context Mr. Toaha however, refused to accept Mr. Moni Singh's Communist Party of Bangladesh as a Marxist-Leninists organisation.

About the charges such as "misappropriation of party funds", and "acceptance of money from the government" brought against him by Prof. Yakub Ali, Mr. Toaha first expressed his ignorance saying he was not aware of it. However, when a newsman pointed out that such allegations were published in the newspapers he said that his organisation have set up special committees to enquire against all the charges.

He said the Party Secretary General violated Party Constitution and discipline for making public the allegations Constitution of his party, he said forbade such disclosures.

Speaking on allegation that he had been toeing a "pro-Soviet line of politics" Mr. Toaha said that BSD (ML) had "rejected the Khrushchevian revisionist theory of capturing power through elections".

Regarding different decisions of the party he said that the council had formed a 25-member delegation to attend unity congress of both factions of BDS (ML). Mr. Toaha call for holding general elections before the local bodies election in the interest of expediting transition to democracy.

DPRK VISITOR MEETS WITH ENERGY, FOREIGN MINISTERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Jul 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The visiting Vice-Foreign Minister of DPRK Mr. Kim Yong Sop called on DCMLA and Minister for Energy and Mineral Resources Air Vice-Marshal Sultan Mahmud at the Secretariat on Monday reports BSS.

During their discussion according to official sources the DPRK Minister appreciated the present Government's policies and programmes for bringing about an all round progress and prosperity of the country.

Air Vice-Marshal Sultan Mahmud had given an outline of the country's energy policy laying emphasis on the development and utilization of our natural gas resources. He also mentioned about Petrobangla's exploration programme for hydrocarbon. Mr. Kim Yong Sop appreciated the development programme in the energy sector of the country and hoped that both countries could benefit from their experiences in the exploration and development in the energy sector.

The DCMLA noted that DPRK has been fortunate in having wide variety of mineral resources like coal iron zinc copper and gold. In this context, the DCMLA informed the visiting Minister of Bangladesh's prospect for natural resources like peat coal hardrock limestone and natural gas.

The DCMLA expressed his admiration for the significant progress achieved so far by the industrious people of the DPRK and wished them greater progress and prosperity in the years ahead.

He also expressed his sincere thanks to the friendly government of the DPRK for the cordial invitation extended to him to visit Korea and hoped that he would undertake a trip to the beautiful country in future to meet and exchange views of mutual interest.

He said with confidence that the close and cordial relations between the two countries will be further strengthened in future to the benefit of both developing nations.

## Calls on Doha

Another report adds: the visiting North Korean Vice-Foreign Minister Mr. Kim Young Sop called on Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Shams-Ud-Doha at the Foreign Ministry in Dhaka on Monday.

They discussed matters of mutual interest in particular the South-South cooperation on which both sides have similar views a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry said after the meeting.

Mr. Kim Young Sop extended an invitation to the Foreign Minister to visit the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.

During the call on the Vice-Minister was accompanied by the North Korean Ambassador in Bangladesh.

Earlier formal talks were held between the North Korean Vice Foreign Minister Mr. Kim and the Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Mr. A. H. S. Ataul Karim. The two sides reviewed bilateral regional and international issues in a friendly and cordial atmosphere the spokesman said.

During the talks which lasted for about two hours the two sides noted that the relations between Bangladesh and DPRK had developed satisfactorily in recent years and were marked by mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields and exchange of visits at different levels.

Mr. Kim Young Sop who arrived in Dhaka on Sunday on a three-day visit highly praised the reformative steps taken by the Government under the inspiring leadership of Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad to decentralise the administration and achieve economic, self-reliance through the 18-point programme.

During the talks Mr. Ataul Karim was assisted by Additional Foreign Secretary Mr. Abul Ahsan and senior officials of Foreign Ministry. Mr. Kim was assisted by the Ambassador and Senior Foreign Ministry officials of DPRK.

## Majeed Khan

The visiting North Korean Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Kim Young Sop, called on Education Minister Dr. Abdul Majeed Khan at latter's Secretariate office in Dhaka on Monday afternoon.

CSO: 4600/1434

COMMUNICATIONS MINISTER TELLS PRESS OF DPRK VISIT

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 21 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] The Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and Minister for Communications, Rear Admiral M. A. Khan said in Dhaka on Wednesday that North Korea was keen to increase its cooperation with Bangladesh in the fields of agriculture, trade and shipping, reports BSS.

Talking to newsmen on his return from a week-long visit to North Korea at Zia International Airport the DCMLA said that a North Korean trade delegation would visit Bangladesh soon to discuss matters relating to the promotion of trade and commerce between the two friendly countries.

He said that North Korea had also agreed to sign a shipping agreement with Bangladesh.

Admiral Khan said North Korea had offered to provide Bangladesh with 50,000 tons of cement at a concessional price.

The DCMLA said he had a three-hour long fruitful discussion with President Kim Ill Sung during which the North Korean leader assured that his country would strive to develop further the existing bonds of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

He said that Kim Ill Sung informed him of his country's keen interest on helping Bangladesh in the agriculture sector. He mentioned that a joint agricultural commission has already been formed to promote cooperation in this field.

Admiral Khan said he had apprised the President of Korea of the various development efforts of the present government to improve the lot of the people. The administrative reorganisation programme and General Ershad's 18-point programme were highly appreciated by President Kim Ill Sung who said "it is the most correct step to achieve progress and prosperity and bring about people's welfare".

Admiral Khan said that Kim Ill Sung had also appreciated Bangladesh's role as member of the non-aligned movement and current Chairman of the Group of 77 in fostering South-South cooperation and in establishing a new international economic order.



He said that he informed the Korean leader that Bangladesh believes in independent national unity and peaceful re-unification of the Korean people without outside interference on the basis of joint declaration of July 4, 1972 and the Havana Declaration of 1979.

He said his visit will further strengthen the existing bonds of friendship between the two countries.

CSO: 4600/1435

REPORT ON ERSHAD 15 JULY SPEECH TO SECRETARIAT

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 15 Jul 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad on Thursday called upon the Government officials to change their mentality, attitude and outdated system to invigorate the administrative machinery, reports BSS.

Addressing the officials of the Establishment Division at the Secretariat, the CMLA said, we need an effective and fast moving system which can cope with the changed situation and increasing requirements of the country.

He said, moreover, the world is moving fast and we are also to keep pace with modern time. Let us also not forget that we are living at a time when the use of computer has made things much easier and more accurate. We should not also lag behind, he said adding: The use of computer will not only save time but also remove the scope for corruption and personalised method of action.

Gen. Ershad also stressed the need not to allow inefficiency and mismanagement in administration particularly when we are going through a phase of reorganisation to bring about an improvement in our socioeconomic condition.

Reminding the officials of the Establishment Division of their great responsibility, the CMLA said, "you must evolve a new suitable system which will be lasting and worthy of meeting the challenge of time. The Government may come and go but the system will remain".

He said the common people, specially those living in the rural areas, have suffered a lot because the administrative system has not been able to deliver the goods. Let us do something to ensure a better working system which may at least benefit the coming generations, he added.

Gen. Ershad said the present Government lost no time to realise the truth that the old system of administration was responsible not only for the sufferings of the people but also for socio-economic stagnation that was the reason, as a first step, it decentralised the administration of the thana level and the decentralisation proved to be yielding good results, he added.

He said unless the Government functionary becomes equally responsive to this epoch-making change, it will be difficult to reach the cherished goal.

The CMLA who is also incharge of the Establishment Division, said there is special need for a sense of responsibility, discipline and accountability among those dealing with administration. He said "you are sitting in a position from where you can oversee the whole administration of the country. You will have to take particular care to ensure that the Government does not receive any allegation of negligence of your duty, unjust treatment in cases of promotion and transfer or corruption. At the same time, one who shirks responsibility, cannot be a good officer. If one works sincerely and does something in good faith, he is more safe than one who does not work at all".

Gen. Ershad said as servants of the people, it is our duty to help them to the best of our capability. Followups, check ups and supervision in close coordination at various levels can bring about a lot of improvement in the situation, he added.

The CMLA, who was free and frank before the officials, advised them to remember that if they are to get anything from the country, they should also give something to the country.

He told the officials that he would again come soon to listen to their problems and suggestions to help run the administration upto the expectation of the people.

CSO: 4600/1431

PAPER REPORTS ERSHAD 24 JULY SPEECHES IN BARISAL

Government Aims, Election Schedule

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Jul 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Barisal, July 24:--The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad today declared that the election schedule announced by the Government will be maintained, reports BSS.

Addressing a cross-section of people of Barisal and Patuakhali districts at Barisal Medical College Auditorium here, he said, "We are determined to honour the commitment".

Gen. Ershad said he believes in peaceful transfer of power and does not want to see the repetition of any bloodshed. That is why, so much emphasis is being laid on such sound system system and institution, he added.

He said, "If we are to establish real democracy--people's democracy, we must start it from the grassroots level. The holding of elections to the local bodies before the general elections are the most sensible and systematic approach towards the desired goal of establishing democracy on a solid footing he said asserting the present Government has always proved its good intentions and will do so in future.

Referring to the position with regard to the Constitution, the CMLA said it stands suspended not scrapped. The coming general election will be held under this Constitution after the suspension is withdrawn.

Gen. Ershad reiterated that what we need now is to maintain a peaceful atmosphere and keep up the flow and tempo of development activities. People-oriented programme initiated by the present Government will have to be implemented in the larger interest of the country.

The CMLA warned that any quarter attempting to disturb peace, the process of restoration of real democracy and the development efforts will be held responsible for the consequences.

Gen. Ershad dwelt at length on the reformative and development efforts being undertaken by the Government and said these are needed to reshape the economic

and social fabric of the country. He referred to the 18-point Programme of the Government and said it is aimed at achieving economic emancipation of the people as a whole.

Gen. Ershad said it's an uphill task to implement the programme for economic emancipation. It is as good as creating an ocean. But we know that little drops of water make the mighty ocean. We are also embarking on development programmes one by one to reach our cherished goal Insha Allah we will succeed if we work hard unitedly and with honesty he added.

The CMLA referred to the new Budget and said every care was taken to ensure that the poor people are not affected. It also reflected restoration of financial discipline and an encouraging economic picture. It has been possible to increase the economic growth rate from zero level to 3.8 per cent. The foreign exchange reserve rose from 240 crore Taka to 800 crore Taka. The inflationary trend was brought under control. These are no mean achievements within such a short span of time.

Gen. Ershad referred to the historic steps taken by the Government to decentralise administration and judiciary by taking them to the doorsteps of the common people specially those living in the villages. The benefit of the reorganisation has already started reaching the bulk of the people.

The CMLA explained the positive steps being taken to revitalise the country's economy. In this context he touched upon the policies being followed in the major sectors like agriculture food industry education health and family planning. He warned that unless we check the present rate of population growth all our development efforts will go in vain. In this connection he asked those connected with the family planning activities to be more responsible and sincere in the discharge of their duties. "You must realise the gravity of the situation" he added.

Gen. Ershad said an emergency programme has been undertaken by the Government to set up a Family Welfare Centre in each union in the course of next two years.

On the drug policy he said, it is undoubtedly a bold step on the part of the Government aimed at discarding the unnecessary costly medicines and making available drugs at a cheaper rate.

Turning to the land reform, the CMLA said the report of the Land Reform Committee is under consideration of the Government which will start taking steps on the recommendations soon. The Government wants that the farmers should get their due share and security of their livelihood.

Referring to the recently signed temporary agreement between Bangladesh and India on the sharing of the Teesta waters, he said this is a welcome step keeping in view the limitations and situation obtaining in both the countries. He hoped that given goodwill and understanding it will be possible to reach a solution to the Farakka problem.



On the existing education system, Gen. Ershad said it must be changed to suit the national requirements. We will have to introduce an education system which will not create frustration among the future generations and ensure a secured career for them he added.

He mentioned the steps undertaken by the Government to give due honour to women and ensure their participation in the development activities. He called upon them to work side by side with men to contribute to the overall development of the country.

Gen. Ershad invited suggestions from the audience and gave a patient hearing to the problems raised by them. He assured them that with the limited resources the Government will do everything possible to solve local problems.

The CMLA sanctioned Taka ten lakh for local development activities including the development of communication in Patuakhali district. He also sanctioned Taka seven lakh for the completion of Barisal Public Library, and Taka one lakh for Barisal Press Club.

The Law Minister Mr K. A. Bakr, the Agriculture Minister Mr A. Z. M. Obaidullah Khan and the Zonal Martial Law Administrator, Zone 'E' Major General K. M. Abdul Wahed were present.

#### Belief in Rule of Law

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Jul 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Barisal, July 24:--The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. K. M. Ershad said today that the present government firmly believed in the rule of law and that it was taking effective measures to achieve this objective, reports BSS.

Inaugurating the permanent bench of the High Court Division of the Supreme Court here, the CMLA said it was for the first time in the history of the country, the government had taken effective initiative to separate judiciary from administration and started successful implementation of this policy at Upa-Zilla level.

He said in the past no government could fulfil its promise to separate judiciary from administration although there had been provision for it in the constitution and almost all the political parties had pledged to do it as part of their party programme and objective.

Gen. Ershad reminded the judges, lawyers and government officers to keep it in mind that the laws were being formulated to redress the sufferings of the people and not to increase their distress. For successful materialisation of this ideal and policy it is necessary to make laws up to date by changing those of the colonial era, he added.

He sought cooperation from all in this regard and said the government had already taken steps to make necessary amendments of laws so that the people particularly the poor helpless & oppressed masses living in the rural areas get justice easily.

The CMLA said permanent benches of the High Court Division had already been set up in Comilla, Rangpur and Jessore and they had made due contributions in the welfare of the people. With the setting up of one High Court Bench in Chittagong next month and then another in Sylhet, the total number of permanent benches will rise to seven, he added.

Gen. Ershad said three more judges were appointed for quicker disposal of cases and to cope with the increased load of work in the judicial department. Besides, he added, 180 munsiffs were appointed of whom 125 completed their training and were posted in the upgraded Upa-Zillas. Another 250 munsiffs will be appointed shortly.

He said the commission set up by the government to make recommendations to amend the Civil Procedures Code has already submitted its report. The government, he added, has been considering the recommendations and it is hoped that Civil Procedure Code could be amended on the basis of these recommendations. The Criminal Procedure Code has already been amended in the light of the changed condition which had helped in the disposal of 62 thousand cases out of the pending 1.60 lakh cases.

The CMLA said before the opening of the regional High Court Benches, there were more than 18 thousand pending cases in Dhaka High Court. "You will be happy to note that about seven thousand such pending cases have already been disposed off by the High Court Benches, he added.

Gen. Ershad said the success of the historic step of decentralisation of judiciary will depend to a greater extent on the close cooperation and understanding between the newly established benches and the learned lawyers.

He hoped that in the greater national interest the relations between them will be more closer and deeper to enable the people to get their desired justice.

Underlying the important role of the intellectuals in building the country, the CMLA said it is their sacred responsibility to identify the injustices rooted in the society.

He told of government's objective to build a happy and prosperous society saying: the country is still burdened with thousand problems, the gap between the rich and the poor has been widening and above all degeneration of values have become evident in every sphere of social life.

Gen. Ershad called for a total change in the attitude towards life and said that the intellectuals could give leadership in this respect.

Gen. Ershad recalled the memory of Sher-e Bangla A. K. Fazlul Haq who not only belong to this district but was also a pride for the whole of Bengal and said with the setting up of a new High Court Bench at Barisal we succeeded in materialising the objective of establishing justice and making judiciary easier for which the late leader waged relentless struggle.

The CMLA concluded hoping that justice would be easily available and rule of law will be established in the country as a result of united efforts of all.

Later, speaking at a reception given in his honour by the local Bar Association the CMLA expressed the hope that the lawyers will uphold the dignity of the bar and help establish rule of law.

Describing Barisal Bar as replete with history he said the great leader A. K. Fazlul Huq started his career as a founder member of this Association. "It is an honour for me to be present at a function which marked the implementation of decentralisation of judiciary at the home place of the great leader" he added.

The CMLA donated Taka one lakh for the bar library. He also assured that the fund required for the renovation of the Bar Association building will also be provided.

The Law Minister Mr. K. A. Bakr also spoke on the occasion Agriculture Minister Mr A. Z. M. Obaidullah Khan and the Zonal Martial Law Administrator Zone "E" Major General K. M. Abdul Wahed were present.

CSO: 4600/1439

PAPER REPORTS, COMMENTS ON TISTA WATERS PACT

JRC Joint Press Release

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 21 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] Bangladesh and India reached an ad hoc agreement on sharing of waters of the Teesta River. Under the ad-hoc sharing arrangement which will remain valid till 1985 end. India will get 39 per cent while Bangladesh 36 per cent and the remaining 25 per cent will remain unallocated.

This agreement was worked out at the 25th meeting of the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission that ended in Dhaka on Wednesday, Indian Irrigation Minister Mr. Ram Niwas Mirdha and his Bangladesh counterpart Mr. A. Z. M. Obaidullah Khan led their respective delegations in the JRC meeting that continued for three days.

Reading out a joint Press release after the conclusion of the JRC meetings at a Press conference at the state guest house "Meghna" the Indian Irrigation Minister Mr. Ram Niwas Mirdha who is the current chairman of the JRC said that the progress made in the Dhaka meeting would be followed up in the next JRC meeting to be held in New Delhi sometime in October. Mr. Mirdha said that the Ganges issue had been taken out from the Joint Committee of Experts (JCE) of JRC and that now the Ministerial level JRC itself would study the economic, technical and implementability aspects of the two sides' proposals for augmenting the dry season flows of the River Ganges.

He said the 25th meeting of the JRC had directed the Secretaries in charge of the two governments to work out further details of sharing of the Teesta waters. The joint Press release said that the ad-hoc shares and 25 per cent unallocated portion of the Teesta waters are subject to reallocation after the scientific studies to be completed by the Teesta Committee before the end of 1985.

The Indian Irrigation Minister said they had discussed the Farakka issue in accordance with the Memorandum of Understanding of October last year. The memorandum directed the JRC to complete pre-feasibility study of the schemes proposed by either side and find out an optimum solution on the sharing of the Ganges waters within 18 months of the signing of the memorandum. During the discussions regarding the pre-feasibility study of the two proposals the two

sides recognised that in addition to the technical aspects, "wider economic and implementational aspects of the two proposals need to be studied in the JRC" and the Dhaka meeting agreed on necessity for further examination of the proposals.

The Indian Minister claimed that they had made a "breakthrough" in their discussions on Farakka. "We are now proceeding in right direction" he said.

The leader of the Indian delegation admitted that the JRC could not make progress in its discussions on Farakka during the first nine months of the 18-month limit of the Memorandum of Understanding. "Now definite steps have been taken and we have made positive progress here" the Indian Minister claimed.

Replying to a question the Indian Irrigation Minister said that JRC was studying the question of the long-term sharing of the Ganges waters.

The leader of the Bangladesh delegation Mr. Obaidullah Khan said that in the Dhaka meeting they had decided to take over from the committee of experts the issue of the pre-feasibility study of the proposals of the two sides on Farakka. He said that JRC would continue its efforts in the 26th meeting in New Delhi in October to find out a mutually acceptable solution to the Farakka problem.

In the Dhaka meeting the JRC discussed the water utilisation of small common border rivers and directed the standing committee to submit its recommendation on the five rivers--Manu Muhuri Khowai Gumti and Dharla--Dudhkumar before December this year.

The joint Press release said that the flood forecasting and warning arrangements were being implemented by the two countries and experts of the two sides will meet next month to review the arrangements.

Before addressing the joint Press conference the leaders of the two delegations signed the agreed minutes of the 25th meeting of the JRC.

The Press conference was also attended by the Irrigation Secretaries of the two countries Sved Shamim Ahsan of Bangladesh and Mr. M. G. Padhve of India and the High Commissioners of the two countries.

#### Pragmatism Expected

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 22 Jul 83 p 5

[Editorial: "Teesta Waters Agreement"]

[Text] The twenty-fifth meeting of the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission concluded in Dhaka on Wednesday. The two sides were considering different issues connected with the sharing of waters of the Ganges, the Manu, the Muhuri, the Khowai, the Gumti, the Dharla, the Dudhkumar and the Teesta. While the J.R.C. put off the Farakka issue till the next meeting the two sides agreed to



share the waters of the Teesta. The formula for sharing waters of the Teesta has been adopted. India gets thirtynine per cent of waters while Bangladesh gets thirtysix per cent. The rest of twentyfive per cent may ultimately be allowed equitably, keeping in view the irrigation and navigational requirements of lower riparian Bangladesh.

The two sides were headed by Ministers of the two countries. They have not only examined the technical data but also strived hard to arrive at an acceptable solution to the problems of sharing waters of the international rivers. It is worth noting that the two sides had decided to take the problems away from the intricacies of technical data and to find an acceptable formula for sharing of waters. And the formula is based on policy aspects via-vis inter-dependence of the two neighbours. With the adoption of a formula for sharing of waters of the Teesta one may expect that similar approach of give and take may be adopted for finding an acceptable solution to other relevant outstanding issues.

The Farakka problem will figure in the October meeting of the J.R.C. in New Delhi. More detailed examination of economic, technical and other aspects of the problem will be made in that meeting. And the two sides are on record presenting data which need further consideration. It would mean that the JRC will find a formula for sharing waters as well as for augmenting the flow at places where it is needed. An acceptable plan for utilization of waters of small rivers needs to be worked out at the Ministerial level. It would naturally mean that the two sides have the necessary information on the waters and the projects for their utilization.

As stated by the leader of the Bangladesh delegation, Mr. A. Z. M. Obaidullah Khan, the JRC will continue to work for finding mutually acceptable solution to the Farakka problem. His views have largely be echoed by the Indian Minister who stated that wider economic and implementational aspects of the proposals of India and Bangladesh have to be reviewed. By deferring the examination of the Farakka problem, the two sides have utilized the time at their command for finding solutions to other issues. The Teesta agreement is an achievement that may encourage the two sides to work out details on sharing waters. In other words, the atmosphere of cordiality and purposefulness with which two sides have worked at the twenty-fifth meeting may lead to further understanding in the coming meeting in October in New Delhi.

The technicalities of the problems of sharing of waters are manifold. They may be interpreted differently. If, however, the issues are considered pragmatically they may be resolved without further loss of time. It is expected that the negotiating parties will strike a balance in the matter of distribution of the water. They should explore the possibility of widening benefits to each other. With the conclusion of a sharing formula for the Teesta, the two sides are expected to be pragmatic in finding solutions to other relevant issues.

# COUNCIL REVIEWS POPULATION CONTROL ACTIVITIES

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 22 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] The National Council for Population Control has constituted an executive committee to review the implementation of the decisions of the council and report back to it an official announcement said in Dhaka on Thursday night, reports BSS.

The National Council for Population Control met in Dhaka on Thursday for the first time under the chairmanship of Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt Gen H M Ershad. The meeting reviewed activities of health and population control programme.

It was decided by the National Council that the executive committee would immediately review the existing policy and programmes, recommend specific measures to improve the efficiency of the population control programme and report back to the Council.

The meeting was attended by DCMLA Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud and Ministers Maj Gen M Shamsuj Huq, Maj Gen Abdul Mannan Siddiqui, Mr A M A Muhith, Air Vice Marshal (Retd) K M Aminul Islam, Mr Mahburbur Rahman, Mr A Z M Obaidullah Khan Dr Shafia Khatun, Dr A Majeed Khan, Syed Najmuddin Hashim Maj Gen Mahbbat Jan Chowdhury and Maj Gen M A Munim.

The meeting reviewed activities of health and population control programme and discussed various issues and constraints affecting the smooth implementation of the programme.

The newly-formed executive committee which will meet periodically is headed by the Minister for Health and Population Control. Secretary ERD Member, Planning Commission and Secretary, Finance Division will act as members and Secretary, Ministry of Health and Population Control will act as Member-Secretary.

The Council was informed that the local population control committees had already been reconstituted at the district, thana union village and municipal levels for successful implementation of the two-year action programme for population control. The Council directed the local committees to hold meetings regularly and take appropriate action for ensuring community participation in family planning.

BRIEFS

NEW AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR--Dr. Erich Maximilian Schmod has been appointed as Ambassador to Austria to Bangladesh with residence in New Delhi, the Foreign Office announced in Dhaka on Wednesday, reports BSS. Born in 1929 Dr. Schmod has attended the Universities of Vienna and Chicago and earned the degrees of M.A. and Doctor of Law. Dr. Schmod began his diplomatic career in 1954. He served the missions in The Hague Geneva and Bangkok. He was Austrian Ambassador to Peru and Indonesia. At present he is Ambassador to India. He is married. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 21 Jul 83 p 1]

ACCUSATION AGAINST TOAHA--Secretary General of Sammayabadi Dal (Toaha) Prof Yakub Ali and seven other central leaders of the party yesterday boycotted the national council session of the party in protest against adoption of a pro-Soviet political line reports ENA. Mr Nurrunnabi Chowdhury, a central leader of the party, who also boycotted along with other leaders, said that about 35 councillors followed them in this move. He said, the other central leaders who boycotted the session are: Alauddin Ahmed, Ansar Ali, Advocate Lutfar Rahman, Abidur Rahman, Saiful Islam and Mr. Motaleb. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 18 Jul 83 p 1]

ADB GRANT--Manila, July 14:--The Manila based Asian Development Bank (ADB) today announced a technical assistance grant for projects in the Philippines and Bangladesh, reports AFP. Under the Bangladesh grant two development finance institutions Bangladesh Shilpa Rin Sangstha and Bangladesh Shipa Bank will be examined to ensure that the country maintains viable and effective institutions for promoting and financing industrial projects with high developmental impact. The work will be done by about 14 consultants working in five teams aided by local experts. The study is expected to begin about in October 1983 and implementation is scheduled for August 1984. The Philippines will be aided in improving its planning and management of industrial estates and Export Processing Zones. The country has several public-sector industrial estates and three public-sector Export Processing Zones administered by many government agencies along with other small private industrial estates. Some of these industrial support facilities are not yet fully utilized. The ADB-assisted study will review government policies and plans for promoting regular and mini-industrial estates Export processing Zones. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Jul 83 p 1]

PRC FISHERIES DELEGATION--The four-member Chinese fisheries delegation left Dhaka on Saturday ending an eleven-day visit to Bangladesh during which the two sides made efforts to foster closer cooperation in the development of fisheries, reports BSS. The visiting delegation led by Mr. Liu Jiazhao, Deputy Director, Pearl River Fisheries Institute of China who had brought with them 2,000 Chinese black caps on Saturday carried back home 2,000 katla carp fingerings from Bangladesh. The exchange of carps aims at helping develop each other's fish population. The Chinese delegation visited a number of fisheries projects here and held talks with fisheries experts and officials of Bangladesh for further developing the existing cooperation in the field of fisheries. The black carps of China eat snails which create problems for the fish population by eating plantons and other fish food in the ponds. The black carps will be released on experimental basis. At first in a number of hatcheries before they are introduced in the country. Mr. A. Quader Chowdhury, Director. Fisheries saw off the delegation at the Zia International Airport. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Jul 83 pp 1, 8]

IDA CREDIT--The International Development Association (IDA) has recently extended a credit of SDR 92.8 million (100 million dollar) to Bangladesh in her efforts to improve agricultural production and increase employment and income for the rural poor a Press release of World Bank received in Dhaka on Sunday said, reports BSS. Co-financing for the 176.9 million dollar rural development project is expected to be provided by the Canadian Development Agency 17.2 million dollar the overseas development administration U.K.--10.5 million dollar and the united development programme 1.6 million dollar. IDA is the World Bank's affiliate for concessionary lending. The project is expected to expand and strengthen country's system of agricultural cooperatives and improve the capability and performance of the cooperatives promotional agency. Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB). It is designed to expand the flow of service to rural cooperatives and to increase the availability of credit to cooperatives and their members. The project has provision for medium-term credit to finance the purchase of 30,000 shallow tubewells and 3,000 one-cusec low-lift pumps and for the construction of fertilizer warehouses. As part of a rural programme the project will provide training equipment and medium-term credit for income producing activities. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 27 Jun 83 p 1]

TEAK TO PRC--Bangladesh has exported teak wood worth over Taka one crore to China. Since signing an agreement for welling 50 thousand cubic feet of teak timber in March last year a total of 23,200 cft of processed teak have been sold to China. Bangladesh Forest Industrial Development Corporation (BF-IDC) which extracted the teak from a century old plantation at Baghaichhari, deep in Chittagong Hill Tracts is responsible for the export. According to BFIDC sources it hopes to fulfil the contract of supplying better quality teak to China this year. Meanwhile, the Corporation is also replanting the teak in extracted zones. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 30 Jun 83 p 8]

FISCAL 1983-84 IMPORT POLICY--The Government on Thursday announced a Taka 3,510 crore Import Policy for the Fiscal 1983-84 which is Taka 600 crore more

than last year, reports BSS. Announcing the new policy over Radio and Television, the Chief Controller of Import and Export, Mr A. H. Mofazzal Karim, said that of the total amount earmarked for 1983-84 Taka 975 crore was expected to come from the country's own foreign exchange earnings while the remaining amount would be met from commodity aid, commodity exchange and Wage Earners' Scheme. Describing the new Import Policy, as liberal and production-oriented, Mr Karim said the proper implementation of the new policy for 1983-84 would largely depend on two sources, commodity aid and Wage Earners Fund. Dependence on these two sources, he added, would constitute 28.5 per cent and 39 per cent respectively of the total policy. The Chief Controller said 55 per cent of the total allocation in the import policy has been earmarked for industrial sector 26 per cent for energy and other petroleum products. Ten per cent would be spent on imports in the commercial sector while nine per cent would be used on XPL (Export Performance Licence) to encourage exporters. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 1 Jul 83 p 1]

PANEL ON IRRIGATION--The government has formed a 13-member Central Coordination Committee headed by Agriculture Minister to provide policy guidelines for effective and coordinated national irrigation management system, reports BSS. The committee according to a recent gazette notification would have a 5-point terms of reference which include review and monitoring of administrative and legal procedures for irrigation management and necessary interventions on the basis of guidelines set by National Water Council. Besides, the committee would initiate appropriate policy sections in field management, provide policy inputs for the National Standardisation Committee aimed at reduction and ultimate elimination of dependence on imported equipment and spares. Other activities of the committee would include review and continuous updating of relevant data, suggesting appropriate measures and performing any other function related to irrigation management, according to the gazette notification. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 8 Jul 83 p 1]

CSO: 4600/1436



NEW OFFENSIVE COULD THREATEN EXPORT OF IRAQI OIL

Paris LE MATIN in French 25 Jul 83 p 8

[Article by Safa Haeri]

[Text] After a rapid advance Friday and Saturday, the Iranians yesterday held 15 km of the Piranshahr-Rawandiz road in northern Iraq, with a penetration of 18 km into the strategic Darband pass. According to Tehran, Iraqi losses numbered 3,800 wounded, killed, or taken prisoner. Baghdad, for its part, announced 1,400 dead in the Iranian ranks. The president of the Iranian parliament, Hashemi Rafsanjani, clearly explained the two-fold purpose of this offensive: "To formally refute those who claim that Iran does not control Kurdistan" and "prove that Iraqi oil exports can be threatened." A third aim, unavowed but explicit, can also be discerned: the right, which Tehran has just assumed de facto, to pursue the Kurdish rebels into Iraq.

This new Iranian offensive, called "operation pursuit" and given the code "Ya Allah, Ya Allah, Ya Allah," seems to have three distinct goals--political, economic and military.

In the first place, polish up the regime's coat of arms, besmirched by the failures of the last "Valfadjr" ("Dawn") offensives 3 months ago in the south, where the war is rather the conventional type.

While more and more desertions have been detected in the ranks of the pasdarans (guardians of the revolution) and while a definite loss of morale has been noted in the regular army, the situation in the frontier regions has become more and more "explosive": lately, every Iraqi bombardment in Iran has been followed by spontaneous demonstrations, not only for peace but also against the regime--occasionally even with the slogan "Death to Khomeyni!"

In the south, where the superiority of Iraq in modern armaments, notable of French manufacture, is clear, it has become difficult for Tehran to repeat the experiences of the past without risking, in the event of a new failure, an explosion of the collective anger of the population.

Economically, "operation pursuit" also enables the Iranians to "give the Iraqis a taste of their own medicine."

Indeed, the Super-Etendards equipped with Exocet missiles, recently promised by France to Iraq, place the Iranian oil installations of Kharg Island, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, at the mercy of Iraqi air power.

Any serious threat against these installations is liable to suspend oil exports from the Islamic Republic, i.e., some \$22 to 28 billion, depending on the price of oil.

With the occupation of Haj Omran and, especially, of the high mountains that project over the plain of northern Iraq, the Iranians that project over the plain of northern Iraq, the Iranians now have the power to strike at will: first, at the only Iraqi pipeline in operation, the one that connects, crossing the Kurdish territory, the oil fields of northern Iraq with the Turkish port of Dortyol on the Mediterranean, bringing Iraq some \$3 billion; but also at the Iraqi oil installations in the Irbil-Moussol-Soleymanyeh triangle.

Moreover, the Iranians have not concealed this economic dimension of the "Walfadjr 2" offensives. In a speech delivered yesterday to the Tehran parliament, Hojjat Ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, its president, declared publically: we also wanted to alert French public opinion (we do not mean the French Socialist Party in power) that its government, by massively supporting Iraq, is intervening with great audacity and mendacity in an adventure (the war) which is leading it to certain destruction.

Finally, another obvious aim of Tehran: put an end to the "Kurdistan affair." A province and a people in rebellion against the regime virtually since the beginning of the revolution, Iranian Kurdistan has become the great rallying point of all the armed dissidents.

Clearly, the mullah-archy wanted to get rid "once and for all" of this "sore" before the end of the hot season, by first of all cutting all the supply lines of the anti-Khomeyni Iranian Kurds. The combined forces of the pasdars of the regular army, the state police force, the Iranian Kurds favorable to the regime, the anti-Saddam Iraqi Kurds, as well as the "several thousand Iraqi Mujahedins" recruited from the 45,000 Iraqi prisoners trained and enrolled by the Iranian officers, thus have the means of surrounding, then of decimating and completely annihilating all the armed forces, Kurds and others, in revolt against the central authority located in this region.

In his speech, Rafsanjani deliberately pointed out that "this victory refutes the propaganda of the domestic and foreign enemies who claim that Kurdistan is beyond our control and that these regions are in the hands of the counter-revolution."

This is a "first" in this war which will soon be 3 years old, for, by occupying the large garrison of Haj Omran, which, according to Tehran, constituted the "most important supply center of the counterrevolutionaries," the Iranians are also assuming the right to "pursue" the insurgents inside their "sanctuaries" on Iraqi territory.

Key:

- (a) Caspian Sea
- (b) Iraq
- (c) Tehran
- (d) Tigris
- (e) Baghdad
- (f) Euphrates
- (g) Kuwait
- (h) Persian Gulf



12368

CSO: 4619/87

MINISTER RESIGNS AS SHORTAGES, HIGH PRICES CONTINUE

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 128, 5 Aug 83 pp 2, 3

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] The continuing row over shortages and high prices has, it seems, produced its first serious casualties with the resignation of the labour minister and minister of commerce Asghar Owladi in the past week. Sections of the press have run stories about the prices being paid to growers for fruit and grain compared to the extortionate prices being charged to the public and have attacked the merchants who are raking off the profits. Both the resigned, or sacked, as many people insist is the adjective, ministers have been staunch supporters of private enterprise.

For the past two weeks the press has also run stories of vast hoards of rice being discovered in different areas of the north, where most of Iran's rice is grown. These are seen as efforts to explain away the rice shortage by implying that corrupt merchants are responsible for keeping it from the market. While there may be truth in these allegations it is pointed out that the prices people are at present willing to pay for rice would not make it economical for such huge amounts as officials claim to have discovered being withheld from the market.

It has also been alleged by reporters that fruit for which growers are being paid 30 rials a kilos is being sold in the towns for 250 rials a kilo and the only explanation for this was that corrupt dealers were setting false prices through their manipulations. The government is being urged to take over distribution completely itself.

It is believed that the resignations of the two ministers are related to these pressures. Their position were being made untenable through pressures from both sides. Premier Mussavi launched a fierce attack on the private merchants recently as the row over the shortages of rice and even bread began to mount.

But if Asghar Owladi has not resigned through frustration his latest speech in the Majlis may have contributed to pressures to force him out. For he admitted that the country's exports were down to almost zero except for oil. He blamed restriction on travel, lack of productivity on the part of industry

and transfer of money out of the country after the revolution, along with widespread smuggling which the government could do nothing about, for the situation. He quoted figures for exports before the revolution but gave none for the period since.

His statement was bound to be seen either as a confession of failure or as an attack on government policies, some observers felt.

CSO: 4600/857



WATER, FOOD SHORTAGES REPORTEDLY GROWING WORSE

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 127, 28 Jul 83 p 3

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] Signs that the regime is spending all its available cash on buying arms and obtaining essential supplies for the industries that are either essential or are working to a fair amount of capacity were supported by the call by two deputies in the Majlis last week for the parliament to set up a committee to tackle the problem of food shortages, particularly of rice. The disastrous decline in production and the failure to obtain suitable imports of rice, tea and other commodities is reflected in the agreement signed last week with a visiting Indian delegation for the supply by that country of under-nourished people of large quantities of rice and sugar, and also of 4,000 tons of tea. "The worse the situation gets the more we will need our glasses of tea, the mullahs must be thinking," quipped one Tehrani.

Local officials in the north of Iran coincidentally reported the discovery of large quantities of rice which had been illegally hoarded and which would allow a reduction in the price per kilo, they claimed. In Tehran people have paid as much as 700 rials a kilo for the best rice in recent weeks and with the prices of ingredients for traditional dishes soaring--walnuts, for example, have reached 1,800 rials a kilo--more and more people are now restricted to simple diets of staples. When the recent unrest broke out purchasers at Tehran bakeries were limited to no more than two loaves each.

A reference to the water shortage which recently sparked off a riot in Tehran was made at Friday prayers by Ayatollah Emami Kashani in the capital. He said there wasn't really a shortage and water and electricity supplies had been extensively expanded since the revolution. He asked the public to be patient until current problems were solved, and to use water prudently. He was believed to be referring to the problems said to be faced by engineers in charge of a new dam facility near Tehran.

CSO: 4600/827

# OFFENSIVE LAUNCHED AGAINST IRAQ; KURDS ANALYZED

Paris LIBERATION in French 25 Jul 83 p 11

[Article by Jose Garcon]

[Text] For over 48 hours, battles have been raging in the north of Iraq, where the Iranians launched a new offensive Friday night. This attack--though presented by Iran as the continuation of the "Dawn" offensive begun in February and considered at the time as the "last, determining offensive of the war"--is something new. For the first time, the Iranians have combined their offensive against Iraq with the fight against the Iranian Kurds. Indeed, Khomeyni is bent on destroying the roads and supply bases of the Iranian Kurds, against whom an offensive has been under way for a month farther south. This attack is, in fact, an extension of smaller-scale battles waged last Tuesday and Wednesday in this area.

As with every offensive, it is difficult today to know the exact situation in the field, given the conflicting reports coming out of Tehran and Baghdad.

The operation launched Friday is being carried out in a mountainous area west of the Iranian district of Piranshahr, in Azerbaidjan. This area is traversed by the strategic road between Piranshahr and Rawandiz (in Iraq), along which the Iranians are advancing. Situated in a triangle between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, Rawandiz constitutes the target of the Iranians, for this spot, the most important in northern Iraq, lies behind Arbil. And it is at this city that the Iranians are aiming: from it they can control all the means of communication between Iraq and Turkey--starting with the famous Turkish pipeline, which has been the sole source of Iraqi oil since Syria closed the line that crossed its territory, thus asphyxiating Baghdad.

If the Iranians succeed in holding the Iraqi barracks of Haj Omran captured Saturday afternoon, the road to Rawandiz (then to Arbil) will theoretically be open to them as the barracks are less than 40 km from Rawandiz.

For the moment, the Iranians claim to have advanced 15 km into Iraq and to have "liberated 10 Iraqi posts and villages." According to Radio Tehran, which, since Saturday morning, has been broadcasting nothing but military music and bulletins from the front, Iraq has already lost "3,000 killed, wounded, or taken prisoner." After a rapid advance Friday night and Saturday, the Iranians

seemed yesterday to make a relative halt, in order, they said, to "consolidate the positions conquered."

On its side, Iraq is not very verbose, doubtless because this attack took Baghdad by surprise, and an Iraqi military spokesperson settled for saying yesterday that most of the Iranian units were "destroyed" and that Tehran "lost 1,400 men." But the fact that Baghdad denounced, in addition to the "guardians of Khomeyni," the "treacherous agents" is particularly interesting, for it illustrates the basically Kurdish configuration of this offensive: these "traitors" are doubtless the Iraqi Kurds of the Barzani tribes, allies of the Iran of Khomeyni (as they were of the shah). They made the Rawandiz region their principal base throughout the war which divided them from the Iraqi regime between 1961 and 1975.

At the very beginning of the Iran-Iraq war in September 1980, the Iranians tried to approach Iraq from the north, with the aid of their allies in the area, the Barzani Kurds. But the 2,500 of these Kurds who collaborate in Iran with Khomeyni and the 3,500 of them who are waging a guerrilla war on the Iraqi territory against the regime of Saddam Hussein have never been able to establish a junction between themselves because of the Iranian Kurds.

This is why the Iranians have tried since the fall of 1982 to wipe the Iranian Kurds out of this area. With some success: after 3 months of a very bitter war, Tehran was able to take control of the strategic Sardatch-Kadne road, which opens the way to the Rawandiz road. The onset of winter and the snowfall over this entire region stopped the Iranian advance, but, in the spring of 83, a series of offensives on the part of Tehran enabled the Iranian forces to open all the strategic roads to the Irakien border.

The fact that the Iranians have today penetrated 15 to 18 km into Iraq, by managing to establish a junction with the Barzani Kurds, shows that the incursion of the Turkish Army into Iraqi Kurdistan, carried out late last May with the blessing of Baghdad, has not really made it possible to wipe the Barzani Kurds out of the area. Moreover, the embarrassment of the Iraqi regime in the face of the current Iranian offensive is partly due to the trouble the Iraqis are having in winning control over these populations of the north-eastern part of the country.

In any event, the stakes in this new operation are double for Tehran: it aims to continue the war of attrition against the Iraqi Army and to show that Iran can threaten the oil fields of northern Iraq, after the failure of its offensives at the southern front, then at the central front in Mandali. However, Tehran will not win a decisive victory in this area during this offensive except by occupying Rawandiz. But Western military experts have always felt that it would be even harder for the Iranian troops to take this city than it was for them to take Bassorah.

We can thus expect the Iranians to be trampled. Especially since Tehran, though supported by the Iraqi Kurds of the Barzani tribes, is liable to confront another faction of Iraqi Kurds, the Kurds of Djalai Talebani, i.e., some 5,000 armed men.

Indeed, the latter concluded an agreement with the Iranian Kurds to fight the forces of Khomeyni, should they enter Iraq through this region, even at the cost of setting aside their struggle against the regime of Saddam Hussein. A new set of alliances, already forming over the last several months, is thus taking shape: we may witness the creation of a front of Iranian Kurds together with the Iraqi Kurds of southern Djalal Talebani who would collaborate with Iraq against the Khomeyni alliance with the Barzani Kurds. Given the close ties of the Barzani Kurds with the CIA (in 1975, Barzani enjoyed the support of the shah, the United States, and Israel against Iraq), one wonders whether they would have committed themselves so totally to the Iran of Khomeyni, at the risk of cutting themselves off from all the Kurds, without having at least the tacit agreement of the Americans.

The Iranian offensive launched Friday night thus constitutes not only the umpteenth episode of Khomeyni's war of attrition against the regime of Saddam Hussein: It is going to create new alliances and pose new problems--beginning, for example, with the attitude of Turkey, which intervened a little over a month ago against the Iraqi Kurds.

Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs Velayati announced Sunday that Iran would block oil exports from the Gulf countries if Iraq blocks oil exports from Iran. This is the first time that Iran has threatened to take action against oil exports from the Gulf countries.

Key:

- (a) Balck Sea
- (b) USSR
- (c) Caspian Sea
- (d) Turkey
- (e) Iranian offensive
- (f) Rawandiz
- (g) Tehran
- (h) Mediterranean
- (i) Lebanon
- (j) Syria
- (k) Euphrates
- (l) Iraq
- (m) Baghdad
- (n) Tigris
- (o) Jordan
- (p) Saudi Arabia
- (q) Kuwait
- (r) Persian Gulf
- (s) Region inhabited by Kurds
- (t) Damascus



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CSO: 4619/86

# EMPRESS FARAH EXPRESSES HER FEELINGS OVER TREATMENT OF SHAH

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 128, 5 Aug 83 pp 8, 9

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] "Deep down my hope is that an organic growth from within will bring about change and produce individuals who will save the country. There have been a couple of attempts at uprisings but they were immediately crushed. Iranians must stop looking to the big powers for help because they just do not care. Nobody cares. They (Iranians) must learn to unite and so become strong and then maybe they will be heard.

I trust Iran. All through her history she has been invaded, sacked, razed to the ground and has managed to survive. This time it is more insidious, coming from within and attacking the roots of nationhood and culture. All the same, Persia always rises from the ashes like a phoenix. I know it will happen again and whether I shall still be there to see it or not does not matter."

With these comments Empress Farah wound up a revealing interview with her compatriot Shusha (Assar) Guppy in the Sunday Telegraph magazine in London. She was asked if she had any hope of returning to Persia. She replied, "Sometimes I long to go back as a private person, incognito, to be in my own land. When I was queen I had too many responsibilities. I miss Persia so much, the countryside, even the dust and the donkeys.

My hope for the future of Iran lies in the country itself. All the exiles are too factious, fighting among each other over a non-existent cake. This is a characteristic of exiles... I'm told that South Americans, Russians are all the same. My son has been trying to create a consensus but it is not easy."

Empress Farah recalled how she felt when she left the country with the Shah.

"I was in such a state that I did not know how to pack," she said. "I wanted to take nothing: I had given my life and my heart to the country. I had worked hard, with sincerity and devotion. These are not tangible things you can put in a suitcase and take with you--what are material objects? In the end I left everything behind, even my personal belongings.



Perhaps it was unwise, because one has to live, and if I had taken some valuable things I would be better off now. At the airport I looked around and thought--Will I ever see my country again? And my heart sank..."

She talked about the anguish of the following weeks. "Nobody wanted us! The way the world behaved towards us had no parallel in history. The Shah had known everybody from Stalin and Churchill to the latest president; he had been active in international politics for 40 years; he was an extremely experienced statesman. So East and West respected him and asked his advice, which he gave freely. Yet those who had benefited turned their backs.

Fortunately there were exceptions: King Hussein of Jordan, King Hassan, President Senghor of Senegal. Prince Rainier of Monaco and Princess Grace, King Juan of Spain and a few others--and, of course, President Sadat, who had often called and offered help and to whom we are eternally grateful. But it seemed we had become a liability and the Shah didn't want to cause trouble for anyone.

We decided to go to Morocco for a while and from there to Panama and later [word illegible]. Then came that appalling period when every day we heard of friends and acquaintances being killed, jailed and tortured--people whose only crime was to have served their country. We could do nothing. The pressures were enormous; at times it was hard to go on living."

The Empress talked about money, how the mullahs claimed the Shah had taken 50 billion dollars out of the country and the Swiss government statement that the total assets of all Iranian national on deposit in Switzerland, including the government, were less than 1 billion dollars, which punctured that allegation. She said that what wealth she now has has to be handled with great care to pay for the needs of the family, as the main family assets are frozen under the Treaty of Algiers.

She also talked about her relations with her elder son, now the Shah in succession to his father.

"I knew that a mother could be a problem for a king and so I withdrew from politics completely," the Empress said. "He now has his own office and advisers but he does not lead the life of a young man of his age. He has decided to dedicate his life to his cause, to be ready if the Persian people call him. At first some people tried to intrigue and create a rift between us. But fortunately my son is very wise, we have a good rapport and I don't interfere."

She was asked about the downfall of the Shah and what caused it. She replied: "I do not wish to make an apology for the Shahs' regime. History will vindicate him--indeed it has already done so: see the devastation, terror and bloodshed that is going on in Iran today.

But some people say we went too fast in changing and modernising. Remember the Shah was not the president of some newly-founded republic: he believed

he was the king of a great country which, by some quirk of history, had fallen behind, gone to seed. He wanted it to become great again, to take its rightful place among other great nations. Perhaps it was too much for one man, for one generation, but who wouldn't have been in a hurry at the time. And who is not in a hurry to prosper?"

Empress Farah admitted that the regime had human rights problems "but so have you in Ireland and so have some of the most advanced countries."

"But certain irresponsible sections of the western media focussed on us. Today even their wildest allegations seem like a child's tea party compared to what has been going on in Iran since.

We were very sensitive to their attacks because we compared ourselves to the most advanced countries rather than to other Third World nations. Everybody seemed to expect us to achieve perfect democracy overnight. But democracy does not grow on trees! It is a result of long historical processes in which people throughout a society learn to be tolerant of each other and to be responsible.

The Shah wanted to create an administration that would run smoothly on a democratic basis and he thought that to do so highly subversive elements had to be curbed. Amnesty International at one point put the number of political prisoners in Iran at 100,000. A nice round figure. But where did they get it from? It now has been shown that there were around 2,000 in all and only those actively engaged in political subversion.

As for torture there was no directive allowing it...but I was told that it did happen on an individual basis. If so it was not right and I'm sorry it happened. The position today is infinitely worse. Women have lost the rights they have won over the last 40 years; 14 year old children are sent to the front line in the war with Iraq; all dissent is punished immediately by death.

Where is the indignation of the Western media?" Empress Farah asked. "Where are the international human rights organisations. Or do they consider that Iranians are no longer entitled to human rights since the wicked Shah has gone?"

The Empress said there had been an almost systematic programme of destabilisation of Iran in which some of the western media played a major part. Not a day passed without some article or a broadcast criticising the Shah and his regime. Iran became the prime target of the Radical Chic, who are now totally silent about the massive killing and torture in Iran today.

CSO: 4600/857

# IRANIANS IN DIASPORA

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 128, 5 Aug 83 p 10

[Article by Teezbin; London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] "A Revolution Betrayed," the BBC 2 programme on Iran introduced by Edward Mortimer, the London Times writer this week, turned out to be much more about the revolution itself than about the betrayal and contributed little to any wider knowledge of history of events. Much of the film had been seen before, the images of young men with their hands dipped in sheep's blood and hauling mock victims into "borrowed" ambulances being familiar to all those us, Iranians and foreigners alike, who lived in Tehran or other parts of Iran during the period of the revolution.

No effort was made to point out the fact that troops were mostly firing into the air, even though this was obvious from the way the protesters stood their ground in wide open thoroughfares; figures of deaths like 4,000 in Jaleh square and 700 on another occasion in Tehran are exaggerations which any of those living in Iran at the time can rebut. There were many deaths but it is pointless for westerners to continue purveying these figures which were invented specially for political purposes. The army behaved magnificently throughout the period before Khomeini arrived, with only occasional lapses which led to sickening bloodshed. It is the behaviour of the military men when the chips were down at the end of the year and early 1979 and in exile since that time that should make them feel guilty.

Perhaps the most important service of the film--other than the less of its inaccurate chronology and failure to synchronise commentary with the images we were seeing--was to show the young man with an educated English accent saying how he would report his own father to the revolutionary courts and condone his execution if he felt he were against the revolution. It is this type of mentality that must be understood if any foreigner is to understand what happened in Iran in 1978. Ninety-nine percent of Iranians were bellowing for revolution and for Khomeini then--even friends of the Shah and western-educated intelligentsia who, though they deny it now, were prepared to see Khomeini's face in the moon when the revolutionaries told them they would. This explains their failure to help themselves in their present troubles and their inability to develop any practical political cooperation in exile.

foreigners might obtain more practical help from the excellent interview Shusha Guppy, the Iranian-born classical folk rock singer and writer had with Empress Farah (covered above) and which was featured in the Sunday Telegraph magazine. Empress Farah puts a candid, uncomplicated reaction to events from one who served her country quite devotedly for many years and who puts simply the views of other Iranians like her. Where, she asks, is the Radical Chic who made Iran the guinea pig for their self-indulgent vanities now when thousands are being slaughtered openly in front of the world. Indeed, where are they--and where are all those other Iranians who should be posing the question with her?

The other night we had to flex ourselves to avoid slapping the face of a young Iranian woman who was disparaging the empress without even knowing anything about the selfless work that Farah Diba put in during her years as Empress. This kind of glib criticism is a primitive side of what could be one of the most beautiful natures in the world. Anyone who knows Iranians cannot fail to appreciate their wonderful humanity, their love of giving hospitality and when things are right their desire to help and give succour to one another. So how unfortunate it is that the lack of security and self-confidence that results from adversity so often causes them to try to blame others for their own shortcomings. As one who saw at close quarters so much of the tremendous service put in by Empress Farah and many other officials in Iran over the decade and more before 1978 these baseless attacks on her and those others by pampered, spoilt people who have never served anyone but themselves throughout their lives reflect a side of the Iranian character that they would do well to suppress.

As is the continuing tendency of everyone from generals to former ministers, from ordinary soldiers to intellectuals, to excuse their abysmal lack of patriotism by saying "nothing can be done until Khomeini dies." The fact that Khomeini is still alive is an appalling advertisement for Iranian cowardice and ineffectualness; but it is equally mindless to say that Iranians should not prepare for the day Khomeini dies and be ready to act then.

CSO: 4600/857

# HOJJATIEH WILL RESIST MOVES TO WEAKEN POSITION OF BAZAAR

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 128, 5 Aug 83 pp 4, 5

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] The open warfare between Khomeini mullahs and Hojjatieh began when the government of Premier Hussein Mussavi decided to extend the powers of the State Cooperatives to domestic trade in rice, cooking oil and a number of other commodities which have so far remained within the domain of the traditional bazaar.

In mid-June, Premier Mussavi sent a delegation to Rasht to purchase all the rice crop in the Province of Gilan. The delegation had received sufficient budget allocation to finance the operation and they had full cooperation of the local agriculture officials. Rice farmers were also in favour of the move because they could get relatively better prices for their crop and receive advances to see them through the harvesting time. But minister of commerce, Habibollah Asgar-Ouladi, was against the move because he was fully aware of the opposition by Hojjatieh group.

Khomeini's representative in Rasht, Hojjatoleslam Ehsan-Bakhsh, tried to modify the government stand by telling rice merchants in Rasht that the government would only take over distribution of home grown rice rather than selling it directly to the consumers. But the rice merchants who have strong connections to Hojjatieh remained adamant and said that the whole mission should be called off.

Subsequently, to show to the government that they mean business, the Hojjatieh group gave signals to a number of ordinary preachers to warn their audiences against the drift into communism through such schemes as cooperative stores. Suddenly, in Tehran and many other towns ordinary preachers were heard to sermonise against cooperative stores putting the blame for food shortages on the government scheme to expand the State Cooperatives network.

Simultaneously, Hojjatieh connected merchants began to withhold supplies of rice to the market and run down stocks at State Cooperatives. As a result, demand for bread suddenly increased. To embarrass the government even more the Hojjatieh took advantage of lorry drivers' grievances and encouraged



them to go on strike. This meant that at a time when demand for bread was rising there were no lorries to transport grain from silos to the cities.

At this stage Mussavi decided to bring the war with the Hojjatieh into the open; so he delivered his strong attack on hoarders and profiteers on July 10. As usual, 118 members of the Majlis who are supporters of the government line signed a statement pledging their full backing for Mussavi's "crusade against economic terrorism." They expected other mullahs and personalities would also announce pledges of support to Mussavi. But only a handful of Islamic associations and a few mullahs, including the Friday prayer leader of the city of Qazvin announced their support. Qazvin is traditionally a rival to Rasht in domestic trade.

Mussavi had to back out; on his orders a consignment of Basmati rice was imported from India for distribution among the members of State Cooperatives. Basmati is the nearest to home grown rice and better than the imported American variety, or so the newspaper KAYHAN reported. However, it was obvious that without the cooperation of traditional bazaar distributors, known locally as bonakdars, the State Cooperatives could not do a good job of distribution.

Rather than concede defeat Mussavi decided to take the matter to Khomeini, asking him for his clear support. On July 14, Khomeini delivered his speech on the occasion of the festival of Ramazan. The same day, Jalal Taheri, Khomeini's representative in Isfahan publicly supported Mussavi's fight against the profiteers. But Khomeini's speech clearly fell short of an unequivocal support for Mussavi's fight.

In fact, Khomeini's speech underlined his anxiety over the rising power of Hojjatieh but at the same time it proved that Khomeini is still a more crafty and shrewd politician than all the Islamic regime's mullahs put together. Very cleverly Khomeini directed all his attacks against Hojjatieh while trying to give unmistakable signals to the merchants that their interests were to be protected. So the old fox was making an effort to drive a wedge between the merchant community and Hojjatieh.

As usual, Khomeini did not mention Hojjatieh by name. He singled out one of the principal tenets of Hojjatieh that corruption must increase so much as to give cause to the appearance of the Mahdi, the 12th Imam. Expanding on this theme Khomeini began to ridicule Hojjatieh while constantly taking care not to refer to other main pillar of their belief that the clergy should refrain from ruling and confine their efforts to guide the Islamic government.

In his speech Khomeini also attacked those mullahs who were indulging in good life and luxuries. This was a reference not to Hojjatieh, nor to mullahs of his own camp who occupy important seats of power. From commentaries subsequently appearing in the press it is obvious that Khomeini was warning those preachers who had aligned themselves with Hojjatieh and had preached against the government. This point lies at the root of Khomeini's

worries. He can clearly see that the mullahs, ordinary clerics who have done well under his regime, have no deep-rooted commitment to the Islamic republic and can easily be swayed to other directions.

Characteristically, the esoteric Hojvatieh have remained as cool as ever. It has been Hojvatieh's long-established tradition to remain silent and never to react to hostile propaganda; Hojvatieh usually prefers to assign mullahs who are not within the sect's inner circle to do dirty jobs. In many instances they simply pay non-member mullahs to carry out their orders such as killing Bahai's and engaging in hostile propaganda against their adversaries.

In the current battle the Hojvatieh has given the impression that it wants the regime to let merchants engage in business with no hindrance. Khomeini may personally like to let the Hojvatieh have its say in this particular issue; but the government knows that unless it manages to tame the Bazaar the Islamic Republican Party's hold on power will not be consolidated. Moreover, despite their apparent cool the Hojvatieh are giving Khomeini a hard time by forcing him to choose between a strict Islamic rule along the traditional line, which Hojvatieh prefers and the system of Velayat Faghih, which is Khomeini's own concept of Islamic government. The difference between Hojvatieh and Khomeini is that the former maintains the clergy should not hold public office because such a move will make them accountable to the people while Khomeini maintains that the clergy should indeed hold office. The traditional line is that since no human being is infallible and since human beings are liable to err in the position of carrying out duties of government, therefore the clerics, who cannot afford to make mistakes, are better served by refraining from "acts of commission." Khomeini's concept of Velayat Faghih contradicts this old-established tradition, and asserts that only the clergy are qualified to rule.

The majority of Shia theologians have preferred to sit on the fence while the two sides debate the issue of whether or not the clerics should accept commission. Since Khomeini is in position of absolute political power many theologians can go along with him now and later, when Khomeini's regime was overthrown, they can argue that they had to accommodate the usurper of power by dissimulation (taqiyeh). In other words, the majority of Shia theologians can justify their submission to Khomeini if and when his regime was discredited and thrown out of power, by saying that Khomeini was a heretic and an aberration. The Hojvatieh now argue that Khomeini's Islam is creating mass resentment on such a scale that the Islamic rule should not be allowed to fall and that instead it should be gradually returned to non-clerics who are also at the same time opposed to secularism. It is in this way that a popular backlash against the Shia establishment could be averted, they argue.

Khomeini is well aware of these undercurrents within the clerical circles and fears that either in his own life time or soon after his death his regime may lose the support of the main body of Shia establishment. He is said to

be worried about the safety of his own family after his death though he has taken care not to let his son, Ahmad, to take up any official position and thus not to expose himself. Khomeini is also believed to be worried that his own grave may be a target for abuse by his enemies who, may, after his death, gain power.

CSO: 4600/857

FOREIGN MINISTER DISMISSES TURKEY'S FEARS

CF191350 Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 3 Aug 83 p 14

["Text of Statement by Iranian Foreign Minister to Allay Groundless Fears of Some Neighboring Countries"]

[Text] Dr Velayati, our foreign minister, in a talk yesterday with a JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI correspondent, expressed his views on reports by the media on Turkey's concern about the possible harm to its interests because of the Iraqi imposed war on Iran. He said: The main object of the operations of the Islamic combatants is to bring about the conditions laid down by the Islamic Republic of Iran for ending the war imposed by Iraq on Iran. The blows resulting from this stand are now being felt by the decadent regime of Saddam. Iran's objective in this war is quite different from that of the Ba'thist regime in Baghdad which would take any step to safeguard its own existence. An example of this is their attack on the oil-fields of Nowruz and the resultant oil slick in the Persian Gulf. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran has always kept in mind the interests of the nations of the region. While considering the priorities and the obligations of good neighborliness, which is the core of Iran's foreign policy, he said that the advance of our combatants and the fall of Saddam will not only be a victory for the Islamic Republic but it will be for the good of all the nations of the region, because these attacks are like a surgical procedure for removing a cancerous tumour from the region, that is the removal of the Saddam regime. God willing, the region will be one of peace after the removal of the Iraqi Ba'thist regime and in our view, the fears of the neighboring countries are without any justification.

CSO: 4640/327

JOINT AMINI-BAKHTIAR STATEMENT HEARTENS EXILES

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 127, 28 Jul 83 pp 1-3

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] As reports coming in from Iran confirmed earlier hints that the recent unrest in different parts of the country had been an outburst of really genuine public discontent involving those sections of the community that had previously been much of the base of the mullahs' support the past 2 weeks have seen a further closing of the ranks among the nationalist exile opposition groups.

A first joint statement by the two most prominent exile leaders, former premiers Ali Amini and Shahpour Bakhtiar, in which they expressed common political goals and called on the Iranian people to come together to overthrow the mullahs' regime, reflected the steady progress which is now being made towards harnessing the potential of the opposition groups.

Iranian observers see the acceptance of the idea of a return to constitutional monarchy among the great mass of the exiles as one key factor in helping to bring about this new pragmatism. In addition to the support given to the idea publicly by Amini and Bakhtiar many of the groups of academics and other smaller casual political groupings among exiles in the United States and in Europe have now agreed that constitutional monarchy supplies the most convenient idea around which to build up the type of democratic system which they all hope to see established in Iran once the present Islamic republic is no more.

Much of the discordance on the subject among the intelligentsia among the exiles, sensitive as they have been since 1979 to the shame which the debacle of that year brought to them in the eyes of the world, has now been dissipated by the complete disregard for their interests and their future by their counterparts in western societies. For the first time in four years the intellectuals and liberals who felt that to abjure monarchy would give them status in the eyes of westerners have realised that the latter feel no concern for them and are unimpressed by what has been, in effect, a lack of patriotism and true nationalism on the part of these Iranians. The result has been that there is a new awareness among the exiles that the late Shah, whatever his faults, was a good nationalist and provided them with conditions that they dearly wish were available to them again. Along with this has developed a feeling that the monarchy, whatever the faults of its incumbents, belongs to their history

and need not be thrown onto the scrap heap simply because many other countries have dispensed with theirs.

Observers say much of the credit for the re-establishment of the idea of monarchy must go to those activists with Amini and Bakhtiar who have urged that preservation of controversy over whether to have it back or not is merely an obstacle to uniting all the nonleft nationalist forces inside and outside Iran against the ruling mullahs. The fact, too, that mullahs opposed to Khomeini's system, in particular his concept of velayat-e-faghih, see a return to the 1906 constitution with its provision for monarchy as the most expeditious and effective way of doing away with a system to which they are implacably opposed.

"It is often forgotten that in addition to the rigid Hojatieh clergymen who are thought to be behind the heartless executions of Bahais there are many devout mullahs in Iran who are genuinely distressed at the way their religion has been used by Khomeini and other radicals to excuse their brutal oppressive policies which allow them to stay in power," an Iranian observer told IPS. "But the way in which the revolutionary zealots have combined that brutality against opponents with a brainwashing of the unworldly masses has prevented them from raising their voices against what they realise is a criminal deceit.

"They have also been inhibited by the failure of religious leaders and scholars in other Muslim countries to raise their voices against Khomeini's acts of bestiality in the name of Islam. They see Iran's neighbours across the Persian Gulf behaving like scared children and see no succour from anywhere now except from a change of regime in Iran. That is why there is a growing acceptance among many of the clergy that the only way the religion can preserve its signal role in a future Iran will be a return to the mosque and the surrender of some of the gains made following the revolution which they would have preferred to keep!"

Other observers see the call by the two political leaders in Paris for separation of religion and government as another sign of the changed times. The vast majority of Iranians wanting to see an end of Khomeini's regime until recently foresaw it being succeeded by another form of Islamic republic, they point out. But the perceptible swing of opinion inside Iran and the growing disillusionment of the majority is seen as making the idea of a secular state not only attractive but as a feasible alternative for the first time.

"As the shortages have really hit all over Iran and the real brunt of them is being borne by the poor who cannot go to the black market so there has come a steady realisation that in the Islamic republic of Iran you have got to sacrifice some member of your family in the war, or lose a limb or endure some other horror before you can become a privileged member of society," one young Iranian who recently fled the country told IPS. "The smiling cripples all over the place, their families trundling out of supermarkets with cheap food which others cannot afford to buy, all this combined with the fact that corruption, particularly of the petty variety that affects the ordinary members of the public, is worse than it ever was, has left the public constantly irritated and sensitive.



"That is why the cutting off of water from some districts of Tehran sparked off such widespread disorders. People from areas not affected joined in the chorus of protest. In other parts of the country there was more reaction.

"And for the first time we heard those protesting taunting the mullahs not with the usual phrase of 'it was better under the traitorous Shah' but with a similar sounding 'khadem Shah,' meaning 'the serving king.' Photographs of the Shah have been produced and there has developed a natural tendency to brandish the monarchy as the stick to try to beat the mullahs."

Confirmation of this has been provided by the sudden attention which has been given to the monarchists by the mullahs in their public utterances. A new word has appeared in their vocabulary--setamshahi, which means literally "tyranny." In an obvious attempt to keep the days of the monarchy associated with tyranny in the public mind Khomeini himself has employed the new term in his most recent speeches, along with prayer leaders all over the country.

In the last couple of weeks more than one of the leading mullahs has warned congregations that if they did not keep unity and work for the progress of the revolution the only result would be the return of the Shah's regime.

"It is perhaps a fair reflection of the mullahs' self-delusion that they should still be convinced that the majority of Iranians see their regime as nothing but a blessing," the Iranian who recently fled Tehran told IPS. "They should get around more incognito and they would find out what the people are really beginning to feel about them. There is beginning to be more than a little nostalgia for the days before the revolution when the problems were of a different, much less heartrending nature."

CSO: 4600/827

MINISTER REPORTEDLY LIES ABOUT AGREEMENT WITH TALBOT

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 127, 28 Jul 83 p 4

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] Minister of Industries Mehdi-Zaman Hashemi told a Tehran radio interviewer that automotive industries were geared to double their output in 1362 (March 1983 to March 1984) compared with the figure in the previous year.

"This year will witness a tremendous jump in production of passenger cars, buses, trucks and such other products as tractors, lift trucks and delivery vans," he said. "But I will like to tell our dear Hezbollah nation that it is not our aim to encourage private car ownership," he added.

Asked by the Tehran radio interviewer to be a little more specific on production figures Hashemi said that by the existing rate of production he could say during the 12 months ending March 21, 1984, as many as 100,000 Paykan cars would be delivered to the market. Paykan is a locally made passenger car, using parts provided by the British auto makers, Talbot.

The minister also said that production of tractors and other machinery for the mechanisation of agriculture had received top priority in the government programmes. "We give top priority to the development of agriculture and as a result we must gear growth of our industry to serve the interests of agriculture," he said.

In reply to a question on plans for industrial self-sufficiency the minister said "almost everything you see in a Paykan car or an Iranian made tractor is made by our brave, dedicated and efficient Hezbollahi workers." He conceded that some parts used in Paykan cars were imported from Britain but stressed that since there was an agreement by the British to deliver the parts and since that agreement was paid for by the previous regime, "the Islamic republic would continue to import those parts until the total parts for which money has already been paid have been delivered to us."

IPS sources report, however, that agreements for delivery of car kits by Talbot to Iranian car manufacturers were signed last year. These agreements which were to replace those in existence before the revolution, designated the Iranian party as Sanaye-ye-Khoudrou Iran. This company has replaced Iran National Vehicle Making Corporation.

MARASHI-NAJAFI REPORTEDLY INSISTS EXPERTS ASSEMBLY MOVE OUT OF QOM

London IPAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 127, 28 Jul 83 p 5

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] One topic which made the rounds in Tehran's circles was the sudden decision to transfer the sessions of the Experts Assembly from Qom to Tehran. Originally, it was decided to hold the session at the Feizieh School of Qom. This made sense because the majority of experts, including the president of assembly Ayatollah Meshkini, live in Qom and in fact the seat of learning and expertise on Islamic theology is supposed to be Qom.

But the opening session was held at the building of the former Senate which now houses the Islamic Majlis. Then the experts flew to Qom to convene the next session at the Feizieh School, where they could also avail themselves of Ayatollah Montazeri's wise guidance and counsel, or so the official line propagated.

The sudden decision to shift the meetings to Tehran was not explained; nobody in Tehran seemed to have any reason for this shift. There was a hint by Mahdavi-Kani that the active members (those members of the assembly who hold executive positions such as President Ali Khamenei) could not afford time to fly by helicopter to Qom. He said those experts in Qom who have no official position were in a better position to undertake the trip.

However, informed sources believe that Ayatollah Marashi-Najafi has strongly objected to the use of Feizieh as a meeting place for an affair like that of choosing a successor to Khomeini. Marashi is one of the three remaining senior theologians who has grudgingly gone along with Khomeini and kept silent about Khomeini's excesses and abuses of Islamic rules. But he probably went along with Khomeini in return for being allowed to keep his territory at Feizieh School intact. If the school is turned into an assembly of Islamic experts--all chosen by Khomeini--theologians like Marashi risk losing their territory to junior mullahs.

That is a price Marashi and even Golpayegani--another senior theologian--are not prepared to pay. They will be ready to keep silent on obviously un-Islamic aspects of Khomeini's rule as long as they are allowed to retain their position at Feizieh. That is why Marashi in particular is said to have insisted that the experts assembly be moved out of Feizieh and indeed out of Qom.

# CONJECTURE OVER TIMING OF EXPERTS ASSEMBLY

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 128, 5 Aug 83 p 7

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] This is a question which newspaper KAYHAN has been trying to answer in its leader column over the past few days. "This question has assumed importance because the Imam has warned us of the possibility of people drifting into the attractions of easy life of the Taghout (Shah) era and leaders losing touch with the people," the KAYHAN leader explains.

KAYHAN says that Iran's revolutionary society has complexities which can baffle even the ablest political analysts. Complexities of the Iranian revolution, according to KAYHAN, makes prediction about the future of Iran impossible for any analyst who uses ordinary yardsticks. Only the Imam has the necessary foresight to know where the Islamic revolution is heading and when the Imam says that the revolution has found its path and that it is destined to be a going concern naturally people will find full confidence in the future of their revolutionary society.

KAYHAN adds: "Now we have to see where the revolution started and how it constantly corrected its own path. This evaluation is important in view of the fact that today our enemies are once again entertaining hopes that shortages of goods and other types of material hardship may provide opportunities for counter-revolution to strike out. The counter-revolution is also pinning hopes of a crisis of leadership."

Then KAYHAN explains that at the beginning of revolution the liberal faction quickly occupied positions of power and began to stabilise the situation. The prime minister of the provisional government (Mehdi Bazargan) was asking people to return to their homes and begin yet another round of Taghouti style life with plenty of goodies around and no social and religious responsibility. That round was corrected by the spontaneous action of the students Following the Line of Imam. That was the second revolution, one which ended all hopes of imperialism for returning to Iran. Then the Islamic regime had to muster all its resources to fight off successive waves of aggression by the imperialists--the last being Baathist attack on Iran. But imperialism had already planted its own agents within the revolution and it took a while to oust elements like Bani-Sadr and Munafeghin (Mujahedin).

Thus, the third revolution was ushered in at enormous cost; a number of the best children of revolution were slaughtered as the third revolution approached its final stage.

"Since the success of the third revolution, we began to think in terms of stability and reconstruction. That was where our enemies once again were misled. Our enemies apparently never learn from their past mistakes and tend to judge the revolution by their own corrupt yardsticks. They thought our desire for stability and our efforts to start reconstruction could be equated with stagnation in revolution. How mistaken they were. How happy they were to think that people would no longer be on the scene, that revolutionary zeal had been replaced by a love for comfort and easy life and that they could revive the relationship they enjoyed under the Taghout. That was when once again the Imam gave the signal and revolution corrected its path. It was last February when elections for the Experts Assembly were held and once again, 18,140,985 votes were cast in these elections against a little more than 15 million for the Islamic constitution. Even a blind person can see the high walls of revolutionary stamina. Finally, the counter-revolution had cast doubts on Ayatollah Montazeri's credentials for succession and now the elections have removed all doubt."

REF: 4800, 857

# MONTAZERI ORDERS TOUGH LINE AGAINST PROFITEERS

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 127, 28 Jul 83 pp 4, 5]

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] Khomeini's heir apparent Ayatollah Montazeri told Premier Mir Hussein Mussavi to adopt strict measures against those merchants who resorted to hoarding and market manipulation. Montazeri's instructions to Mussavi were meant to lend support to his government's efforts to crack down on the Bazaar merchants and their supporters among the Hojjatieh mullahs. In this way Montazeri has acted in his capacity as a religious authority to condemn the Bazaar merchants and their cleric supporters for rising prices of essential goods.

Support for Mussavi's move against the Bazaar has also been voiced by 110 members of the Majlis and a host of Islamic associations throughout the country. However, the powerful Tehran Committed Clerics Association has not issued any statements to support the government efforts to fight profiteering. This is taken as an indication of Hojjatieh influence within the ranks of the Tehran Committed Clerics Association which was instrumental in 1979 in extending Khomeini's influence through all the mosques in Tehran and placing Khomeini supporters in all these mosques to ensure that no anti-Khomeini cleric is able to preach in any Tehran mosque.

Informed sources maintain, however, that Premier Mussavi is determined to wage a tough and possibly deadly battle against the profiteers and other merchants who are opposed to the government measures to bring distribution of goods under full control of the state-owned cooperatives. The same sources say that the question of who controls goods distribution may well develop into one of the most serious rifts within the ranks of the ruling mullahs.

There was also press coverage of Khomeini's simple lifestyle, his good health and his continued personal involvement in running the affairs of the country. OUMH-E-AZADGAN, the Tehran daily controlled by the revolutionary guards, drew attention to the fact that Khomeini lived on a simple diet which did not include meat. There was an implicit reference that in fact very little meat is bought by Iran's household.

Meanwhile, Rafsanjani said in a speech that though he did not know of the contents of the Imam's will, he was confident that the Imam had drawn up the main



...underlines for the process of Islamisation even after his death. That is, as Khatami went on to say, there were all the indications that Khomeini would live for a long time yet and the basic task of Islamisation would be completed in his life time.

This remark underlines the anxiety of the mullahs of the Khomeini camp that following Khomeini's death many senior theologians who are now silent but opposed to the Islamic regime may well find courage to invoke religious texts to oppose both the regime and the existing Islamisation programmes. In particular, Khatami is afraid that such moves as nationalisation of foreign trade, distribution of agricultural land and the Islamisation of property rights (under Article 49 of Islamic constitution) may be proclaimed as "heretical moves" by the independent theologians.

Such provocations by senior theologians may not have the required impact now that Khomeini lives because he can at any time claim his seniority by virtue of both his political power and theological credentials. But after his death, a successor like Montazeri may have political position but that does not give him seniority on matters of theology. Therefore, Khomeini's will may well be used to silence his theological critics after his death.

Interestingly enough, the Iranian public showed surprisingly little interest in the contents of Khomeini's will. Tehran's powerful rumour mill picked up several topics regarding the experts meeting but none of them was about Khomeini's will. And nobody seemed to be interested in what he had written in it. It was almost as if it didn't matter to them.

CSO: 100/1827

RUBINOW AWAITS RESULTS OF EXPERTS ASSEMBLY DELIBERATIONS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 127, 28 Jul 83 p 6

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] It has become standard practice by Iran's ruling mullahs to fall back on their skills and experience as preachers and organisers of passion plays whenever they encounter serious opposition by the ordinary people.

In the wake of bloody riots in Tehran and other cities early this month the mullahs decided, therefore, to pull yet another mullah trick off their sleeves hoping to manipulate the people's sentiments and ward off threats to their rule. Subsequently, the dormant Experts Assembly was called into session. Members of the Experts Assembly were elected some six months ago but they had not been called to meet until 12 July. And so they met, with seven elected members staying away from the session, which was interpreted by observers as a sure sign that divisions within the mullah ranks are now so sharp that some of them actually boycott the Experts Assembly.

The highlight of the first meeting of the assembly was neither the selection of the fundamentalist mullah, Mohamad Meshkini, as the president, nor the objection by Ayatollah Marashi-Najafi to the meeting taking place at the Feizieh Theological School in Qom. The highlight of the occasion was a dramatic gesture by Khomeini to entrust his "political will" to the Experts Assembly for safe keeping until the day of his death, by which time the assembly was authorised to open the will and make public its contents.

The presentation was made by Khomeini's son, Ahmad, who delivered his father's message to the assembly and then pulled out the 30-page document from under his robe, placing it on the platform. He then said that the document was his father's will, which was to be kept in trust by the assembly. As Ahmad was about to finish his words tears ran down his cheeks. Suddenly the entire assembly was filled with the sound of grown-up men weeping. It was not a well rehearsed show; it did not have to be because the members of the assembly are seasoned preachers whose main job as Shia clerics is to "wring tears from the eyes of the audience."

The loud sound of weeping went on for two minutes before Ahmad's voice was heard to say that since in the residence of the Imam nobody could find any

...and to place a seal on the will, he had to bring the document wrapped in small paper. This was a well-designed remark to bring to public attention that Khomeini, unlike the Shah, lived a very simple life, so simple that in his house not even a seal could be found. Again the audience began to weep, this time with a louder voice.

Subsequently, the assembly which was chaired by ex-Premier and well-known mullah Mahdavi-Kani on account of his seniority in age, took up its agenda to elect Meshkini as the president of the experts and Rafsanjani as its vice-president. Meshkini is the senior theologian among the group of mullahs who were one time "attendants" of Khomeini's teaching sessions at Feizieh School. They are now called attendants of sessions held by Khomeini because they attended Khomeini's lectures but were not senior enough to be regarded his "attendants"; this term is reserved for such notables as the assassinated mullahs Beheshti and Motahari.

Meshkini is the real power behind Khomeini's heir apparent, Ayatollah Montazeri. It is widely known that Meshkini runs Montazeri's office on appointment of judges and on matters related to universities. His election to the presidency of the Experts Assembly is an indication that Montazeri is now yet another step nearer to succeeding Khomeini. Rafsanjani's election as vice-president is an indication that he is being pushed to seniority as a mullah and theologian. In fact, Rafsanjani is a junior mullah even among the "attendants" of Khomeini's lectures and he owes his position as the speaker of the Majlis to his personal relationship to Khomeini.

Following the meeting of the experts, the mullah-controlled media began to give full coverage to the decision by Khomeini to write his political will and deposit it for his followers with the experts. Press commentaries underlined the point that Khomeini was so thoughtful that he did not leave the affairs of Islam to chance and decided to extend his guidance and leadership far beyond his temporal life. Commentaries concluded by reassuring the Muslims of Khomeini's continued spiritual leadership and guidance even after his death.

0001 2600/511

# IRANIAN NOT TIRED OF WAR, SAY REGIME SPOKESMEN

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 128, 5 Aug 83 p 6

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] Leading spokesmen including Majlis speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani and newspaper comments including one in KAYHAN have begun a campaign to refute charges by the opposition that the Iranian people no longer support the regime's war effort against Iraq. Rafsanjani, speaking at last Friday's prayers, said the recent offensive against Iraq was a clear proof that the Iranian people were determined to continue the war until all the Islamic leadership's demands were met. He ridiculed opposition charges that the Iranians were simply concerned with liberation of motherland and that they did not want to engage in a continued warfare to further regime's ambitions.

"The reason we decided to launch Valfajr Two offensive from bases in Kurdistan was to show to the world and especially the foreign based opposition that people continue to support the war effort and that the opposition has no strength left in the country especially in the Kurdish areas," Rafsanjani said. He stressed that monarchists were working closely with other opposition groups such as Mujahedin and Kurdish rebels from bases inside Iraq.

KAYHAN said that volunteers to join the mobilisation (Basij) centres were so numerous that many of them had to be turned back. It implied that Basij volunteers had to receive at least six months training before they could be assigned to any kind of combat mission. This was a reference to opposition criticism that young boys are being sent to the battleground without training.

In a radio programme meanwhile, a commentator said that only the corrupt middle class and those who still cherished the easy life style of the Shah's regime were hoping for an end to the war. He said as long as the revolution retained its dynamism the need for waging war against domination by world imperialism would be with the Muslim Iranian nation because "war is imposed on us."

Despite their claims that the nation supported the war effort the regime spokesmen took great care to tell the people that the war was not costly

either in human lives or in materials. Commentaries aimed at drawing attention to the fact that most of the weapons with which the Iranians fought were captured from the Iraqis. They also constantly reminded the people that special tactics were adopted to minimise Iranian casualties.

"We adopted helicopter transport tactics lifting men by helicopters behind the enemies and then did not have to maintain logistics lines because our men could fight with captured weapons and live on enemy rations," Rafsanjani said. "The enemy decided to copy our tactics but failed because their men are different from ours and they could not maintain logistics," he said.

Opposition groups, especially Front for Liberation of Iran, have been warning against the regime's policy of a war of attrition. They have said that the regime is in need of going on to fight because this is the only way it can cover up for its shortages and inefficiencies. But, they say, a war of attrition undermines the army morale, wastes resources and bleeds the country white.

(C/O: 3700/557)

AYATOLLAH MONTAZERI CAUTIONS REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 128, 5 Aug 83 p 2

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] When president Ali Khamenei received military inspectors last week he stressed among other things the need to be watchful for those among both officers and other ranks who might be against the regime. This was seen as further evidence of current disquiet among officials.

Ayatollah Montazeri also warned once again that the activities of the revolutionary guards could be held against the regime if they were not corrected and that this situation could already be threatening its continuation. He was echoing remarks by other officials when receiving mullahs responsible for the guards' training and education when he warned that the guards must respect the people and not be arrogant and thus susceptible to corruption and selfishness. His statements followed on recent remarks by Ayatollah Khomeini himself which suggested that control over many sections of the guards was no longer held by appointed officials like guards commander Mohsen Rezaei and that the guards units were splintering. There have been reports of heated debates and of violence between those of more leftist persuasions and the fundamentalists.

Obviously addressing the guards through their instructors, Montazeri said, "You should not take action against someone just because you don't like him or take revenge for personal reasons. This even if someone is your enemy or is against the regime. We all make mistakes and if someone admits that he was wrong and wants to correct his mistakes he should not be harmed but helped....if he doesn't want to correct his mistakes that is something else."

080: 4600/857



# REGIME SEEKS MORE FIGHTERS AS VETERANS SHOW RELUCTANCE

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 128, 5 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] A remark by Majlis Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani, one of the most important officials in the Islamic republic, that "today everything is ready for us to reach peace with Iraq" caused a stir in Tehran briefly last weekend.

But rereading of his speech suggested that he, in fact, meant that Iraq was ready to give up and all that was now necessary was one final big push. To that end, he said, every able-bodied male who could fight, and in particular young people, should go to the war front and join the "final conflict." Everything was ready for them to put an end to the war, to destroy corruption and injustice in the region and bring a longstanding peace to the whole region.

Rafsanjani stressed that young people with experience of fighting or handling weapons should come forward, which perhaps gave the clue as to what lay behind his remarks. This is the fact that those who have returned from the war fronts and others who have completed national service have not turned up in response to calls to return to the battle, which is to a great extent still being fought by more fanatical young people armed more with fervour than military skills.

Pictures of bodies in Iranian uniforms shown on Iraqi television suggest that once again the Iranian forces have sustained dreadful casualties in retaking a limited amount of key territory from the Iraqis. Once again the mullahs have, however, used the war to both gain some small amount of new bargaining power for any future talks with the Iraqis, as well as gain some strategic advantages over dissident Kurds, and to distract the public from some of the problems back at home.

More evidence of the shortage of manpower was provided by the campaign launched in the press to justify the war. In KAYHAN, one of the main Tehran dailies, for example, there was a whole page of "Martyrs Wills" in one issue. There were pictures of five young boys with their wills. One of these wills bore the headline, "My dear father, be prepared to lose all of your beloved children."

It went on that people should obey Khomeini's orders and they should be prepared to sacrifice all they possessed for the love of God and Khomeini. The point about this will, and the others quoted, was that they were all written in the same style of erudite and correct Persian that is usually only possessed by older and qualified people, while the children featured on the page were only in the beginning of their teens. It seemed obvious that this was one more ploy designed to commit people to the war and help the regime to maintain its power, observers felt.

The announcement that the former naval chief Afzali was to be put on trial for alleged associations with the Tudeh party, coupled with the announcement that another 2,000 arrests of suspected Tudeh members to add to the 8,000 already in custody, heightened suspicions that the operation against the Tudeh was in fact a cover for a new move against all suspected opposition forces in the administration and the armed forces. Afzali had for long been seen as being particularly close to the mullahs and it seemed incredible to most observers that such a relationship could have been possible if Afzali had been associated with a communist organisation.

Some observers in Tehran now feel that there could have been some dialogue going on between Tudeh members and officials exasperated with the present administration that aroused suspicions among the mullahs and their security men. The putting of Afzali on trial will certainly serve as a signal warning to others who may be interested in political discussions which could lead to temptation of other elements to begin activities against the regime. The executions of those alleged to have helped former president Bani-Sadr to escape from Iran may also have been timed to try to discourage what is felt to be a disquietingly rapid growth of criticism and discontent that could spark off some more ambitious actions.

REF: 4000/857

# EDUCATION OFFICIAL SAYS UNIVERSITIES MAY OPEN BY OCTOBER

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 128, 5 Aug 83 p 3

[London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

[Text] Although a top higher education official said this week that university medical and other faculties which had been approved for reopening could well open on time in October he conceded that there were "difficulties" and these could lead to the opening being delayed.

He said the difficulties were due to the investigations of candidates' backgrounds. The encouragement given to war-wounded and other veterans of the fighting to take places has meant that other sections of the community feel they are being discriminated against and that there will be no places for those who have not been wounded or are not from families which have lost someone in the war. Rumours in the country have suggested that would-be students who have not a minimum of six weeks at the front will not be eligible for any university places.

The official also announced the Majlis had been asked to approve the sending of students abroad for studies. He did not say whether this was in specialist fields which would mean students would attend western institutions or whether places would be sought in other Muslim or 'friendly' countries.

Khomeini Rafsanjani assured his congregation at last Friday's prayers that the regime did not intend that only hezbollahi teachers and lecturers would control the universities. This was true of industry, too, he said and claims to this effect were a crime against the people. The public must respect lecturers and teachers.

"We do have respect for doctors and engineers and all educated people and will always have it," he said. "But I must tell you that if these people do anything which might damage our society or use their knowledge against the revolution and Islam, or try to corrupt our society, it is our duty to stop them and call them 'dirty dogs!'"

He also called on the public to respect all students and said it was their religious duty to provide them with homes, food and other essentials.

People should build hostels for the existing universities and for new ones when they are ready. This should be a form of zakat, or religious tax.

The shortage of cash for education as well as other services has been emphasized in recent articles in the press based on parents' complaints.

At one school in Tehran with urgent repair and other requirements the daily *Arbab* wrote the budget allotted was only 500,000 tomans, yet at least 2 million tomans were needed to repair school buildings at the present time. In addition to this 2 million tomans were required for the teachers' salaries.

Official comments were limited to saying parents must help their children's schools by paying for decoration and other work. No propositions for dealing with the financial needs for even the bare essentials were made.

(10) 10/10/57

## BRIEFS

**KHOMAYNI WARNS MULLAHS**--When he received two representatives of the Experts Assembly Ayatollah Khomeyni warned that continuing differences of opinion between the mullahs could bring the country to chaos. He particularly singled out the younger mullahs for attention, saying they were more vulnerable because of their lack of experience and their susceptibility to materialism. Khomeyni also warned against the experts supporting their friends or those with whom they had associations rather than being purely Islamic and objective in their approach to their task of ensuring a smooth continuation of the revolution. Observers saw his remarks as evidence of the growing differences between the mullahs, as reflected in recent violence between supporters of different clergymen. Growing impatience among the more radically-minded younger mullahs is obviously also causing concern to the leadership. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 127, 28 Jul 83 p 3] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

**ANNIVERSARY OF DEATH OF SHAH MARKED**--Marches to Iranian embassies and ceremonies in public halls throughout western Europe and the United States marked the third anniversary of the death of the Shah in Cairo. Larger numbers attended the ceremonies than in previous years. Organisers said there would be many more if so many sympathisers with relatives in Tehran were not afraid to take part in public displays of support for the monarchy. The waning enthusiasm of monarchist supporters was also seen at a New England conference on monarchy in general recently. Iranian visitors predominated and took a prominent part in proceedings. A speaker from Britain was widely interviewed on local radio broadcasts and in newspapers. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 127, 28 Jul 83 p 3] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English; weekly published by an Englishman]

100: 1001/8/1

## PPP INVOLVEMENT IN SAM MISSILE INCIDENT CRITICIZED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 Jul 83 p 3

[Text] Military authorities and police found two SAM-7 ground to air missiles in Lahore in the house of a lawyer named Aftab Gul. The news sent shock waves throughout the country. For quite a while now, there have been no reports of any subversive activities in any part of the country, so that the threat of terrorism and the tensions arising from it that had prevailed following the hijacking of the PIA plane had decreased considerably. The recent discovery of SAM missiles has restored the former level of mental anxiety. It seems that the love of peace displayed generally by the people and political parties in Pakistan had defused the expectations of the terrorists. They received no encouragement from political parties in general or the big landlords of the defunct People's Party; nor was there any agitation and upheaval among the people that would have allowed terrorists to continue their activity. The perpetrators of the few terrorist acts that took place could not obtain effective protection, and as a result they had to suffer the punishment of virtual exile. Under these circumstances, terrorists had to cease their activities. However, when the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy [MRD] proposed to start its campaign of civil disobedience, terrorists felt that they would be able to use this campaign as a cover for their activities and that, to save their program from open failure, the MRD parties, which have no popular support, would be forced by circumstances to accept the activities of the terrorists and give them protection. In view of these factors, new plans for terrorist activity may have been drawn up.

Without solid proof and witnesses, it would be irresponsible to connect these plans for fresh terrorist activities with the entire People's Party. Still, the connection of the house where the SAM missiles were found with the defunct People's Party; the raid on the house following information supplied by persons suspected of membership in Zulfiqar; the departure of the owner of the house from the country on 20 June and, 2 days before the raid, his sending for his wife and children to join him outside the country--all these are signs that cannot be ignored.

It appears that a group of mature and intelligent individuals in the defunct People's Party does not want disorder and would like to see the transfer of power accomplished through peaceful means. This group wants to see the country returned to its course of constitutional democracy without confusion and disorder. But there is also a group of emotional young men in the party, men who have sold themselves to outside powers inimical to Pakistan. They are either



overcome by the desire for vengeance or so enamored of foreign money that they have lost their senses. This group demands general elections in a confrontational tone but is not ready to help bring about improved conditions that would make it possible to fulfill this demand. This group wants to maintain such a fiery atmosphere of confrontation that the holding of elections would appear impossible. It is against any kind of electoral activity. The clash and contrast between these two groups of the defunct People's Party with regard to municipal elections have become public. The group favoring confrontation and vengeance is controlled by Murtaza Bhutto and his brothers and sisters. To save the party from disintegration, Begum Nusrat Bhutto has refrained from showing any open preference for either group and gives the impression of extending her patronage to both. But the vengeful group is not completely without her sympathies; hence, it is not possible to totally absolve the Bhutto family of any responsibility for Al-Zulfiqar's terrorist activities. Because of the Bhutto family's connection with the People's Party, it is impossible to believe that the defunct People's Party is totally ignorant of and unconnected with any terrorist plans. Thus, as a result of this suspicious role of the defunct People's Party, it is quite natural that the entire MRD structure should suffer from its effects.

Under the present conditions, the entire activity of the People's Party is very mysterious and irresponsible. It is a member of the MRD, but after pushing the MRD toward total confrontation and proclaiming its campaign for civil disobedience, the effective leadership of the PPP has left the country. On the one hand, the MRD maintains that no elections except general elections will be acceptable under any system other than the 1973 constitution. On the other hand, a faction of the People's Party leadership has announced its earnest intention to campaign in the municipal elections. The MRD says that the defunct People's Party will be asked to revise its decision and that any party that campaigns in the municipal elections will not be allowed to remain a member of the MRD. How dependable are those leaders of the People's Party on whose support the MRD is relying when it makes this statement can be measured by the fact that these People's Party leaders show no haste or anxiety to return to Pakistan to participate in the municipal elections or to join in the MRD civil disobedience movement, whereas a serious approach toward the municipal election campaign or MRD's civil disobedience movement would have dictated that the effective leadership of the People's Party return at once to Pakistan. The fact that it has not done so shows that it is not interested in either activity. What, then, does the leadership of the People's Party really want?

One can deduce from indications that the effective leadership of the People's Party is not really interested in the municipal elections nor is its objective the open civil disobedience movement of the MRD. What the effective leadership of the PP wants is to keep its highest echelon free of any responsibility for the MRD's civil disobedience campaign while the machinations of the lower level PPP leadership in exile give the civil disobedience campaign the appearance of an armed battle. Under cover of the civil disobedience movement, Zulfiqar, helped by foreign arms, would get another opportunity to carry out its experiment of bringing about change through the use of force. In view of these circumstances, the discovery of two SAM missiles in the house of a lawyer member of the defunct People's Party is an important development. Everyone

knows in what country the SAM missiles were manufactured and which country supplied them. It is not difficult to guess at the arrangements that have been made in the present planned confrontation to carry on an effective struggle against government forces. Another objective of this subversive plot is to destroy again the favorable conditions for holding elections that are emerging following dispersion of the past terrorist atmosphere, so that elections could never be held in the country. We have already said that the left does not want elections to be held at the present time because elections offer it no room for action.

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